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ABSTRACT

The Journalism History section of this collection of conference presentations contains the following 15 papers: "Henry Ford's Newspaper: The 'Dearborn Independent,' 1919-1927" (James C. Foust); "Redefining the News?: Editorial Content and the 'Myth of Origin' Debate in Journalism History" (Elliot King); "'Nonpublicity' and the Unmaking of a President: William Howard Taft and the Ballinger-Pinchot Controversy of 1909-1910" (Stephen Ponder); "The Rise of Ernest Poole: The Making of a Social Muckraker" (James Boylan); "'The Sculking Indian Enemy': Colonial Newspapers' Portrayal of Native Americans" (David A. Copeland); "News before Newspapers: A Perspective on News Values" (Richard Streckfuss); "The Evolution of a Practice: Investigative Journalism 1960-1975" (James L. Aucoin); "The Re-Emergence of American Investigative Journalism 1960-1975" (James L. Aucoin); "The Poor Rich and the Rich Poor--How Newspapers Perpetuated Values" (Paulette D. Kilmer); "The Scopes 'Monkey Trial' Revisited--Mencken and the Editorial-Art of Edmund Duffy" (S. L. Harrison); "Sketches of Life and Society: Foreign News and Correspondence in the 'New York Tribune,' 1841-45" (Ulf Jonas Bjork); "The Founding of Investigative Reporters and Editors Inc., and the Fledgling Organization's Conduct of the Arizona Project: A Time of Trial and Triumph" (Maria Marron); "Battling Prejudice and Poverty: The Antebellum Black Press and the Struggle for Survival" (Jane Rhodes); "The Power of Editorial and Historical Context: A Photo History Interprets World War II for Americans" (Patsy G. Watkins); and "'A Square Deal for the Pueblos'? The 1920s Press Covers an Indian Controversy" (Mary Ann Weston). (RS)

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Henry Ford's Newspaper: The Dearborn Independent, 1919-1927

A Paper Presented to the History
Division, AEJMC National
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Henry Ford's Newspaper:
The Dearborn Independent, 1919-1927

"It's pretty bad, Mr. Ford," Harry Bennett told his boss. "I don't care how bad it is," Henry Ford replied, "you sign it and settle the thing up." Bennett tried to read part of the apology over the phone to Ford, but Ford did not want to hear it. "I don't care how bad it is," Ford repeated, "you just settle it up."[1]

Bennett was one of Ford's personal assistants, and on this day in July 1927, he was signing an apology to Jews for the anti-Semitic attacks that had appeared in Ford's newspaper. By the end of 1927, largely as a result of the prejudicial assaults, Ford's nine-year career as a newspaper publisher was over.

Ford started his journalism career in 1919, when he purchased the Dearborn Independent, a small Detroit-area newspaper with about 700 subscribers. Until the end of 1927, he used the paper to publicize not himself directly, but the views he held dear: the need for monetary reform, the evils of liquor and the virtues of hard work and family life. His influence also resulted in two anti-Semitic campaigns in the paper which historian Robert Lacey called "a sustained outpouring of prejudice the like of which has not been seen in America, before or since."[2]

Ford's genius for mechanical pursuits, which brought an affordable automobile to the masses in the early twentieth century, was accompanied by surprising naivete in dealing with matters outside of the realm of mechanics and engineering. He possessed, said Current Opinion magazine in 1916, an "appalling simplicity,"[3] and the Dearborn Independent represented that fact perhaps more than anything else in his life. While other events, such as when he spent nearly $500,000 in 1915 to sail his so-called "Peace Ship" to Europe in the hope of stopping the war, illustrated his naivete as well, none has left such an enduring legacy as the Dearborn Independent.

This study is a historical perspective of the Dearborn Independent's nine-year run from the beginning of 1919 to the end of 1927. Ford's anti-Semitism has been well-documented, and the Dearborn Independent's role in disseminating his prejudice has been studied as well.[4] This study, however, will take a broader view of the newspaper. The anti-Semitic campaigns, their origins, and their effects will be examined, but the purpose also will be to chronicle the operation of the Independent as a business from 1919 to 1927. Along the way, several aspects of the paper's operation will be emphasized, including the way Ford used his dealer network to expand the paper's subscriber base, the infighting among members of the paper's staff, and Ford's inability to find success in journalism as he had in the automobile business.

The sources used for this study include existing works on Ford's life and anti-Semitic feelings, newspaper and magazine articles from the period, and the contents of the Dearborn Independent. In addition, resources in the Ford Archives at the

Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Michigan, provided insight into the day-to-day operation of the paper. Although the Dearborn Independent's internal and editorial files were destroyed by the Ford Motor Company during the 1960's, information useful for this endeavor remains in the Ford Archives.[5]

Henry Ford has been credited with many things, from perfecting modern mass production techniques to creating America's middle class. This study will look at one of his least successful ventures, and show how a man who achieved phenomenal wealth through his mechanical genius faced failure--and ultimately humiliation--in journalism.

Henry Ford Buys a Newspaper

Henry Ford had toyed with the idea of starting his own newspaper as early as 1914. He had become friends with E. G. Pipp, editor of the Detroit News, and confided in him his desire to some day become a publisher.[6] Finally in 1918 Ford was ready to begin his journalistic venture, and he brought Pipp on as editor. Offices were established at a former Ford tractor factory, which would later lead Detroit Saturday Night to call the Independent "the best weekly ever turned out by a tractor plant."[7] Pipp began to assemble a staff, choosing mostly from the ranks of Detroit newspapermen.

Ford was eager to promote his new venture, and late in 1918 he announced his retirement as head of the Ford Motor Company so he could devote more time to the Independent:

> I am very much interested in the future, not only of my own country but of the whole world, and I have definite ideas and ideals that I believe are practical for the

> good of all. I intend giving them to the public without having them garbled, distorted, and misrepresented.[8]

By this time, Ford was well aware of the value of the press, and had used it to his advantage in publicizing events such as when he raised the wages of his factory workers to five dollars a day in 1914. However, he was unhappy with the press criticism of his Peace Ship expedition and also felt he was treated unfairly when he ran for the U. S. Senate in 1918. Having his own press outlet, thought Ford, would help him get better coverage.

Ford, who promised that his newspaper would not be afraid to discuss new viewpoints on controversial issues, said the first issue would be out January 2, 1919.[9] But by December he became alarmed at the lack of progress Pipp was making in getting the paper going. He told his general secretary, Ernest G. Liebold, who was currently stationed at Ford's Detroit offices: "You better go out to Dearborn. They don't seem to be getting anywhere."[10] Liebold had already established himself as one of Ford's favorite "yes" men and in so doing had earned a reputation for being ruthless and power hungry. Fred Black, the _Independent_'s business manager, would later say that Liebold's desire for power was "almost Hitlerian."[11]

When Liebold arrived at the _Dearborn Independent_'s offices, he found "a lot of people running around with nothing to do" and promptly fired about half the staff. Those who remained were watched closely, with Liebold noting in a daily log those who arrived as little as two minutes late. From the moment of Liebold's arrival it was he, not Pipp, who ran the _Independent_.[12]

Ford began calling his favorite Independent writers "good mechanics," and the staff had a running joke about his desire to apply mass-production techniques to the newspaper. They claimed he rushed into the editor's office one day offering the concept that every article should start with a bare title, and then each writer would contribute a small portion of the content, much like the way Model "T"'s were built in his factories. Although it was only a joke, the story was cited by some sources as actually occurring.[13]

Liebold did not care much for Pipp, but assumed that he was on close terms with Ford. In fact, he believed that Ford started the Dearborn Independent to give Pipp a job.[14] But by this time, Ford seemed to be cooling toward Pipp as well. Whatever respect he had for Pipp as a journalist was overshadowed by his inability to get things at the newspaper running properly. Soon after Liebold took control of the Independent, he and Ford were walking through the office when Ford saw Pipp sitting at his desk. "You better get rid of that old fellow back there," Ford told Liebold. "He'll never be of any value to you."[15]

The first issue of the Dearborn Independent appeared on January 11, 1919, nine days after Ford's announced target date. However, there is evidence that an issue was printed before then. Irving Bacon, who worked as an artist at the Independent, said that the original first issue featured a "scathing" article about ex-president Theodore Roosevelt. The newspaper was to have debuted at a Ford awards banquet, but when it was learned that

Roosevelt had died, the issues were destroyed. There is no other evidence of this aborted issue, but Roosevelt died on January 2, which--combined with Ford's intention to start the paper January 2--adds credence to Bacon's story. Liebold later denied that any papers were destroyed.[16]

In any event, the first the public saw of Ford's newspaper was the January 11 issue, which was printed in large (15.5 x 11 inches) format on calendared paper. While its physical format was closer to a tabloid newspaper, the content was more like popular magazines of the era. Historian Allan Nevins called the Independent "a hybrid adaptation of the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's and Harper's Weekly."[17] Even Ford's press releases seemed unsure of exactly what the new journal was, alternately referring to it as a "newspaper" and "magazine."[18]

The first issue was indicative of the direction the paper would take for the next sixteen months. It was so innocuous as to be boring, and merely rallied around the themes Ford championed again and again: supporting the League of Nations and Prohibition, and chiding Wall Street Investors, corrupt government officials and women who wore high heels. Ford's newspaper did not bring the revolution to journalism that his Model "T" brought to the automobile business, but rather for the most part borrowed an eclectic mix from other journals of the day. The Independent was unique only in that it echoed the beliefs of Henry Ford. While the automaker was rarely mentioned by name, the paper's content for the most part was rooted in his simplistic beliefs.

Nevins said the Independent had the flavor of a muckraking journal ten years after muckraking had largely gone out of style.[19] This is true in that the paper sought to expose certain "evils," yet it was unable to provide hard evidence of any wrongdoing. Wall Street investors were greedy, and Prohibition was necessary because the Dearborn Independent said so. Much like Ford's mind, the newspaper contained numerous allegations but little substance. Historian Keith Sward said the paper "rarely went beyond the point of calling names or making faces."[20]

Ford lent his name to a weekly feature in the newspaper, "Mr. Ford's Own Page." In it, through the pen of William Cameron, he spoke directly about many of the issues his paper addressed. Cameron, who had come from the Detroit News with Pipp, had a particular knack for adding coherence to Ford's often disjointed and epigrammatic statements. Ford was often seen sitting in Cameron's office, rattling off his telegram-like statements as Cameron diligently took notes. In this way, Ford's thoughts found their way not only into "Mr. Ford's Own Page," but into other articles and editorials as well. The essays also were compiled into two separate books, both titled Ford Ideals.[21]

In May 1919, Ford dispatched Liebold and several Independent staffers to Mt. Clemens, Michigan, to run a news bureau. He was suing the Chicago Tribune for calling him an "anarchist" and "ignorant idealist," and he wanted to make sure he got favorable coverage. To this end, the Mt. Clemens News Bureau made available free daily reports, and wired dispatches and even ready-made stories cast in boiler plate. The bureau served nearly 17,000 weeklies and 2,500 dailies during the trial in an effort Forum magazine called "the biggest publicity stunt for ideas the world has ever seen." Liebold also oversaw a group of "secret operatives" who spied on jurors, the judge and Tribune lawyers. Ford ended up winning his libel suit, but the jury awarded him only six cents. The Mt. Clemens News Bureau praised Ford's victory, however, noting in its final dispatch that "the monetary compensation held no particular interest for him."[22]

As the paper began publication under Ford, its circulation was about 50,000. While this was a vast improvement over its former circulation, it was not enough for the journal Ford wanted to use to educate the masses. He had hoped for a circulation of two million to three million and already had Liebold do a cost analysis for the paper reaching one million. But despite Ford's publicity and status, news dealers felt the Independent was dull. Sellers complained that its format was too large for proper display, it lacked fiction articles, and its five-cent cover price meant too little profit. Newsstand distributors urged Ford to start accepting advertising, but Ford was adamant in his refusal, not wanting to feel obligated to any outside influences.[23]

Ford told Pipp to find a someone to coordinate circulation-building efforts, and Pipp hired politician John W. Smith, who later became mayor of Detroit. Smith hired canvassers to work the Detroit area and was able to bring in 3,000 subscriptions in a relatively short time.[24] But after a disagreement Ford fired him, saying the Independent could get subscriptions more effectively by mail.[25]

The Independent staff hired canvassers for $5 per day to sell the papers door to door in Toledo and Cincinnati, but met with little success. They also began sending ads through the mail to major cities, again with only minimal results. In one campaign, 40,000 letters were sent to Chicago, netting only 220 subscriptions. Overall, the efforts during January brought in less than 5,400 new subscriptions.[26] The methods used by Smith had been bringing in subscriptions at a unit cost of 20 cents, but the mail methods were costing more than the price of a subscription.[27]

At a staff meeting late in 1919, ways of improving the paper itself were discussed. The staff agreed that the paper had no image and needed desperately to create one. One staff member, J. J. O'Neill, said that "Mr. Ford's Own Page" was too long and too boring and suggested that the paper begin covering issues that would raise more public interest. "LET'S HAVE SOME SENSATIONALISM," O'Neill pleaded. "HENRY FORD IS NOT A CONSERVATIVE IN ANYTHING! WHY SHOULD HIS MAGAZINE BE CONSERVATIVE? It shouldn't. What it needs is not velvet gloves, but a WALLOP."[28]

Pipp's Departure and the First Anti-Semitic Campaign

As if responding directly to O'Neill's suggestions, in May 1920 the Dearborn Independent embarked upon what would create its most enduring legacy. Having fired sporadic shots across the bow of everything from moneylending to jazz music, the newspaper finally revealed the missing element that seemed to tie it all together: the influence of Jews. For ninety-one straight weeks the Independent sought to "expose" the Jewish threat to society by explaining how most of the world's problems were caused by Jewish influence.[29]

By the time the Jewish campaign began, Pipp's name was off the masthead. "Conditions here are such that I cannot do my best work or anywhere near my best work," he said in his March 31, 1920, letter of resignation. He went on to start his own Detroit paper, Pipp's Weekly, which would later become critical of Ford, Liebold and the Dearborn Independent.[30]

Pipp's departure has often been attributed solely to the start of the Jewish campaign, but this was probably not the case. More likely it was the clash in personalities between himself and Liebold which led to his parting. Liebold wrote Ford's son Edsel a letter in January 1919 hinting that Pipp was preparing to leave. "I feel that we will not miss him," Liebold said.[31]

Cameron, who succeeded Pipp as editor, said that Pipp thought he was a big man with Ford until he started working and found that he was just "one of many."[32] No doubt the arrival of the domineering Liebold helped drive this fact home. Pipp himself was known to be stubborn and have a bad temper, and it seems most of his disdain was directed at Liebold. Unfortunately for Pipp, Liebold had something he no longer had: the full support of Henry Ford.

The real problem between Pipp and Liebold, and perhaps the reason for Pipp's fall from grace with Ford, was that Liebold discovered Pipp had supported Truman Newberry during the 1918 senatorial campaign in which Ford was also a candidate.[33] Rather than deny it, Pipp began to flaunt his support for Newberry in front of Liebold. "I'm really going to get Liebold's goat," he told another staff member.[34]

Finally, Liebold had had enough. He instructed Cameron to write an editorial against Newberry and put it on Pipp's desk. Liebold watched as Pipp came into his office, read the article and promptly threw it away. When the next issue of the paper came out, however, Pipp found the article on the editorial page. According to Liebold, Pipp put on his hat and coat and left. "Liebold," said Irving Bacon, "gave Pipp enough rope to hang himself."[35]

Having decided to concentrate circulation-building efforts in metropolitan areas, the staff hired newsboys to peddle the paper on street corners. In some cities, however, selling the Dearborn Independent became difficult because of bans enacted by city councils, mayors, and police chiefs. Ford put his legal department into action and was able to eventually overcome most restrictions, but for a few months in 1921 being a Dearborn Independent newsboy was a risky proposition. In Pittsburgh, Toledo, Detroit, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Boston and other cities, selling the Independent was temporarily banned. Some newsboys were arrested, while others were attacked, sometimes by other newsboys. One of the largest fights occurred in Toledo in April 1921 where police were called in to break up a melee which temporarily blocked the city's main street.[36]

At the beginning of 1922, Ford ordered the anti-Semitic articles stopped. When Cameron, who by this time had succeeded Pipp as editor,[37] came to work one morning, he found Ford waiting in his office. "I want you to cut out the Jewish articles," Ford told a surprised Cameron. When Liebold arrived soon afterward, he protested Ford's decision, but to no avail. The carmaker had apparently already made up his mind.[38]

For the next two years, the Independent criticized Jews sporadically, but not in the vengeful fashion of before. The Jews took their place in the newspaper among the bankers, bootleggers, movie producers and ammunition makers of the world: not a productive part of society, but apparently no longer enough of a threat to warrant a weekly lashing.

To discern Ford's reason for the abrupt cessation of the anti-Semitic campaign, it is probably necessary to understand the origins of his anti-Semitic feelings. Unfortunately, the latter is a difficult task, as there are nearly as many interpretations of Ford's prejudice as there are authors who have written about it. It is likely that Liebold's enthusiasm for the campaign had taken it too far for even Ford. By the beginning of 1922, it is likely Ford had grown disgusted with the legal problems, bad publicity and adverse effects on sales that resulting from the paper's anti-Semitic articles.[39]

Ford Dealers and Lead Pipe Circulation

Early efforts to build the newspaper's circulation met with little success, at least by Ford standards. At the end of 1920, circulation was almost 72,000, and a year later it had doubled to 149,000, but that was not nearly enough. If Ford could sell 750,000 automobiles a year, surely the Dearborn Independent should be able to get at least that many $1 subscriptions.[40]

During the Independent's first year, someone suggested asking Ford dealers for help. After all, they were selling the Ford automobiles and were closest to the grass-roots population the Independent sought to reach. Thus, the paper's staff asked the 6,000 Ford agencies for suggestions on how they could improve the Independent's circulation.

Some dealers seemed eager to help. Considering what would occur later, perhaps they were too eager. But this was a time when Ford was at his zenith, and a Ford dealership franchise was only nominally less lucrative than a license to print money.[41] If Ford wanted advice on how to help his fledgling newspaper, most dealers were happy to give it. One requested sample copies to show prospective customers; another suggested sending dealers blank subscription orders to be distributed by salesmen; and a third proposed that the newspaper, now well into its anti-Semitic campaign, be given to children to distribute after school. One dealer offered to compile a list of the "most intelligent readers" in his area so they could be sent sample copies.[42]

Some dealers praised the paper's anti-Semitic articles and vowed to loyally stand behind Henry Ford. "We are not in the habit of showing the white feather and there is no fear on our part that any Jew or Jewish leader will ever 'get the goat' of the Northrup Auto Company," boasted one dealer.[43] Another voluntarily turned in 625 subscriptions, but worried that the Jewish articles would ruin his business:

> There is nothing Jewish about the E. C. Lindsay Company, but it is somewhat at a disadvantage at this time owing to the above conditions as it is renting from a Jewish landlord and Dame Rumor has brought the glad news to our ear that we would soon have to vacate.[44]

The reply Lindsay received from Liebold was anything but sympathetic: "Does it not appear to you that a Ford agent should own his own building to place him beyond the exertion of such pressure?"[45]

Liebold's response was indicative of the attitude the Dearborn Independent would eventually take toward dealers. What started out as a call for suggestions gradually became a "must" campaign, and by 1923 a quota system was enacted for dealers and branch offices. On the average, a Ford dealer was expected to sign up 100 subscribers per year for the Independent. The quota systems, in various forms, would remain in effect until the newspaper's demise in 1927.[46]

Dealers who were initially enthusiastic about helping sell another Ford product began to feel differently as the quotas were forced on them. One dealer called the subscription policy a "hold up" and suggested that Ford put his money into making a better car.[47] This period paralleled a time in the mid-1920's when sales of the Model "T" were beginning to fall behind Chevrolet and Dodge, and while Ford's liberal price cuts kept sales up they also decreased profit margins.

The Independent staff tried valiantly to keep dealers interested in marketing the newspaper, even providing special Christmas displays and offering rebates of up to 25 cents per subscription to dealers who added more than seventy-five new subscriptions a month.[48] Branch managers were urged to push their dealers, and a slogan, "READ the Dearborn Independent, TALK the Dearborn Independent, SELL the Dearborn Independent," was adopted.[49] Dealers who were not meeting their quotas were urged to try harder:

> What one can do, any other dealer can do. If you fail to hit your target every month, it is just simply a matter of lack of attention on your part to all the different angles of a Ford dealer's job. . . . In our thought, the Dearborn Independent work of each dealer is a real test of his loyalty to the personality of Henry Ford himself.[50]

It soon became apparent that the Independent's enthusiasm was not rubbing off on the dealers. Many neither knew nor cared what the newspaper stood for and saw it merely as additional overhead. Some dealers simply signed over checks to cover their subscription quotas each year, while more inventive dealers randomly chose names from the phone book and sent them subscriptions.[51] Braver still were the dealers who simply added the cost of Independent subscriptions to the cost of cars as "gas and oil."[52]

Using the dealers and lead-pipe circulation methods, the newspaper was able to build its circulation to a peak of 657,000 in 1925. Although a second attempt at penetrating newsstands was mounted, it met with little success. Over 95 percent of

Independent sales came from the dealer network.[53]

The Decline and End of the Dearborn Independent

At the conclusion of the first anti-Semitic campaign, the Dearborn Independent reverted to its previous style. For a time during the 1924 presidential campaign, a "Ford for President" boom was building, and the Independent served almost as a weekly campaign newsletter. Although rarely mentioning Ford by name, and not directly endorsing his candidacy, the paper echoed the carmaker's public stands on the money system and other topics. Ford had remained publicly indifferent to the presidency and finally diffused the boom when he endorsed incumbent Calvin Coolidge in December 1923.

Throughout its existence, the Dearborn Independent lost money, as much as $350,000 per year.[54] Despite increasing the subscription price to $1.50 at the beginning of 1921, and doubling the individual copy price to ten cents later that same year, the newspaper was still decidedly in the red. In May 1925, the Independent changed to a more magazine-like 8.5 by 11-inch format and began to include color illustrations on the cover. The number of pages also was increased from sixteen to thirty-two.

Ford by this time had relented in his posture against accepting advertising, and beginning in October 1925 ads appeared in the Dearborn Independent. Branch managers and dealers, by now disgusted with the relentless circulation drives, soon found themselves saddled with more duties. The Independent staff decided to utilize them to solicit large advertisers in their area and to visit advertising agencies to sell the Dearborn Independent as a viable medium for their clients.[55]

Although the staff was able to line up thirteen advertisers for the October 3, 1925, issue, ads fell considerably after that.[56] Some companies which agreed to place trial advertisements found that the cost per inquiry of Independent advertising was extremely expensive compared to other media. The forced circulation methods employed through the dealer network were "selling" a lot of papers, but many were probably ending up in trash bins behind Ford dealerships. In March 1926, the paper stopped selling ad space.[57]

By 1924, Ford's interest in the Dearborn Independent was waning again. The novelty had worn off, and there was no longer the weekly tirade against Jews to hold his interest. Ford dealers were demanding a new model to replace the outdated "T," and Ford was channelling more of his time back into the automobile business. His agreement to finally accept advertising indicated that by this time his concern for the paper was more money-oriented than before and perhaps signalled the beginning of the end for the Dearborn Independent. It shows that Ford began to see the paper as less of a public relations tool and more of a money sieve.

More specifically, however, it was Aaron Sapiro who ultimately decided the paper's fate. In the April 12, 1924, issue of the Independent, a three-part series about cooperative farming organizations began. The series claimed that "a band of Jews," including Sapiro, was taking advantage of farmers:

> Mr. Sapiro did not originate nor develop co-operation. He simply has taken hold of an existing condition. . . and is engaged in shaping it to his ends, and to the advantage of the bankers, attorneys, promoters and other exploiters of which he is the mouthpiece.[58]

Sapiro was a lawyer from Chicago who had become involved in farmers' cooperative organizations in 1919. The objective of the "Sapiro Plan," as he called it, was that cooperatives would control the market rather than vice-versa. By 1925, his organizations had a membership of over 890,000 farmers in thirty-two states and Canada.[59]

After the initial series of three articles, Sapiro and his cooperatives were attacked sporadically in the paper throughout the rest of 1924. Securing the articles was largely the work of Cameron, and Liebold expressed his concern to Ford about the possibility of a lawsuit. "Don't you interfere with Cameron," Ford told him. "I'd just like to see that fellow [Sapiro] start suit against me." Finally, at the beginning of 1925, Sapiro called for a retraction, threatening to sue. The Dearborn Independent responded with an editorial inviting him to do so. "The matter of libel. . . can take its chance in the courts," it said. Sapiro obliged, filing a $1,000,000 suit against Ford in April 1925.[60]

Sapiro filed his suit against Henry Ford, not the Dearborn Independent. For this reason, it was necessary for him to show that Ford had participated in the publication of the articles, a feat which would prove difficult. While filing against Ford appeared to be a legal blunder, Sapiro later said he was not interested in winning the suit or securing monetary damages:

> I was not interested in Ford's money. . . . I was interested in getting Mr. Ford on the stand and pulling from his own lips either public admission that he was all wrong, or to show from him under oath that there were no basic bits of evidence anywhere to justify these attacks on the Jews.[61]

The case came to trial in March 1927. Ford's chief witness was Cameron, who calmly testified for five days and claimed under heated cross-examination that Ford had nothing to do with the articles. "None of the material pertaining to the production of material in the editorial department ever goes to Mr. Ford," he said.[62]

As with the Chicago Tribune trial eight years before, Liebold set up a series of operatives to track the movements and conversations of jurors and lawyers at the Sapiro trial. Although Ford lawyers produced affidavits claiming Sapiro was attempting to tamper with the jury, it was the Ford agents who in reality were harassing jury members. Finally, on April 21, a juror told the Detroit Times that Ford lawyers had seemed anxious to see the case not go to trial. After the story appeared, Ford lawyers asked for--and got--a mistrial.[63]

A retrial was set for September 1927, but Ford wanted no part of it. Even before the mistrial had been declared, his lawyers had approached Sapiro seeking a settlement. Sapiro said he would accept it if Ford apologized to Jews in general and to Sapiro in particular, paid his court expenses, and stopped publishing the Dearborn Independent. Ford agreed to Sapiro's terms, recognizing it was in his best interest.[64]

Ford commissioned one of his assistants, Harry Bennett, to handle the apology, and Bennett enlisted Louis Marshall of the

American Jewish Committee to write it. On July 7, 1927, the text of the apology was released. In it, Ford continued to deny he had any direct knowledge of the articles:

> I confess that I am deeply mortified that this journal, which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made a medium for resurrecting exploded fictions. . . . Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details, of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation.[65]

An editorial in the July 30 issue of the Dearborn Independent echoed Ford's apology and accepted blame for printing "untrue" facts without the carmaker's knowledge.[66] Having taken the blame for the Jewish articles, Cameron was rewarded with a job in the Ford advertising department.

The last issue of the Dearborn Independent appeared December 31, 1927. A Detroit businessman would later resurrect the name for his own newspaper, but Ford's career in journalism was over. The paper's printing presses and other equipment were converted for in-house work, and many of the employees of the paper were given other jobs in the Ford organization.

Conclusion

Harry Bennett, in his 1951 book We Never Called Him Henry, said his job at the Ford Motor Company during the 1920's and 1930's was "to protect Mr. Ford from himself." He noted that when someone would attempt to discourage Ford from a rash or unwise act, the carmaker would point to his head and proclaim, "I'm guided."[67] The Dearborn Independent, perhaps more than any other episode in Ford's life, shows how his "guidance" sometimes failed him. Although he dabbled in many areas other than making cars and sometimes met with failure, nothing matched the enduring scar from the Independent.

Although the paper ended in 1927, the effects of its anti-Semitic articles lingered on long afterward. In private, Ford threatened to assault the Jews again, and public gestures such as accepting Hitler's Grand Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle in 1938 showed that Ford's anti-Semitism did not end with the demise of the Dearborn Independent. Historian David Lewis pointed out that the paper's anti-Semitic attacks were one of the Ford Motor Company's "leading public relations problems for several decades."[68]

Certainly from a financial standpoint, the Dearborn Independent was a failure. From 1918 until it was dissolved in 1930, the paper netted a total loss of $4,795,000.[69] The loss in car sales and the damage to the reputation to the Ford Motor Company from the paper's anti-Semitic articles were incalculable.

The nine-year run of the Dearborn Independent more than anything else represented a chronicle of the thoughts and beliefs of Henry Ford. Though the articles were written by trained journalists such as Cameron, Pipp, and O'Neill, the inspiration came purely from Ford. Supporting the League of Nations, exposing the evil of Wall Street and liquor, and calling for a return to clean living all came directly from the automaker's mind. The purpose of the Independent was to give the impression that Ford was coming into a reader's home each week for a chat. Few men in history have had the financial ability and egotism to publish such a journal, but Ford used the Dearborn Independent to serve many purposes, from publicity agent to presidential primer. Until the end, Ford, Liebold and Cameron felt the paper was doing a public service. "We are proud to say that we have as our friends the clean-minded people of the United States," Ford bragged.[70]

The fact remains, however, that the Dearborn Independent's most enduring legacy is the way it was used to promote Ford's prejudice against Jews. The paper's role in the proliferation of anti-Semitism can hardly be overestimated. "More than any other literary source," wrote historian Leo P. Ribuffo, "these articles spread the notion that Jews menaced the United States." Keith Sward said in 1948 that Ford had "given irrevocable comfort to the doctrine that the world is made for Christians only."[71]

It is hard to say that Ford's brief journalism career had any lasting positive effects. Unlike the technological innovations that made the Model "T" a success, the Independent made no such great leap in the world of journalism. Ford merely borrowed as he wished from existing formulas and made no real attempt to innovate. Conceivably, the paper could have some day become something of which to be proud--a success like the Model "T"--but instead it represented the darkest blot in the story of one of America's most famous people. In the life of a man who attained phenomenal wealth and success, the Dearborn Independent was one of his most dismal failures, doomed by the simplistic views he had hoped to promote. Perhaps the Detroit Times summed it up best in its review of the Dearborn Independent's premiere issue: "He has led always, but he is not now a pathfinder; he is just a humble follower. The role doesn't fit the genius of Ford."[72]

NOTES

1. Harry Bennett, We Never Called Him Henry (New York: Gold Metal Books, 1951), 56.

2. Robert Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 205.

3. "Appalling Simplicity of Henry Ford," Current Opinion, November 1916, 312-3.

4. See Leo P. Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and The International Jew," American Jewish History 69 (June 1980):437-77; David L. Lewis, The Public Image of Henry Ford, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976), 135-59; Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine, 194-219; Allan Nevins with Frank Ernest Hill, Ford: Expansion and Challenge (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957); and Keith Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1948), 140-160.

5. The Ford Archives material used for this study was originally kept by the Ford Industrial Archives of the Ford Motor Company. In 1964, Henry Ford I's personal papers and documents relating to the operation of the Ford Motor Company up to the 1950's were donated to the Henry Ford Museum, which is not a part of the Ford Motor Company. Unfortunately, some material deemed to be of a "sensitive" nature was destroyed before the archives were turned over to the museum.

6. E. G. Pipp, Henry Ford: Both Sides of Him (Detroit: Pipp's Magazine, 1926), 51.

7. Detroit Saturday Night, January 18, 1919, cited in Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford, 1948), 142.

8. "Ford Retires as Motor Plant's Head," New York Times, November 23, 1919.

9. Ibid.

10. Ernest G. Liebold, Reminiscences, 425, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn Michigan.

11. Fred L. Black, Reminiscences, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

12. See Liebold, Reminiscences, 422 and 426; and Liebold Report, June 8, 1921, Accession 285, Box 4, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

13. Fred L. Black, Joint Reminiscences, unbound. For examples of serious citations of the joke, see Leonard, The Tragedy of Henry Ford, 185 and Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford, 141.

14. Liebold, Reminiscences, 422.

15. Ibid., 427.

16. Irving Bacon, Reminiscences, 45, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

17. Nevins, Ford: Expansion and Challenge, 127.

18. "Ford's Paper Out January 2," New York Times, November 26, 1918.

19. Nevins, Ford: Expansion and Challenge, 127.

20. Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford, 145.

21. Bacon, Reminiscences, 231.

22. See Charles D. Cameron, "Ford to Keep News Service," Detroit Journal, July 21, 1919; Mt. Clemens News Bureau Scrapbook, Accession 53, Box 17, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; William C. Richards, "Sparing No Expense to Win a Million," Detroit Free Press, July 21, 1919; and Mt. Clemens News Bureau to Editors, May 19, 1919, Accession 53, Box 17, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; "Henry Ford at Bay," Forum, August 19, 1919, 136; Reports of Secret Operatives, nd., Accession 53, Box 10, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; and Mt. Clemens News Bureau to Editors, nd., Accession 53, Box 17, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

23. See Black to Liebold, August 27, 1919 and Liebold, November 27, 1918, both in Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; and Ben R. Donaldson, Joint Reminiscences.

24. Nevins, Ford: Expansion and Challenge, 128.

25. Pipp, Both Sides of Him, 57.

26. See E. B. Sinclair to Liebold, January 29, 1919, Black to Liebold February 21, 1919. Both are in Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

27. See Pipp, Henry Ford: Both Sides of Him, 57; and E. B. Sinclair to Liebold, January 29, 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

28. O'Neill to Liebold, November 26, 1919, Accession 62, Box 81, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

29. For analysis of the content and effects of the paper's anti-Semitic material, see Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and The International Jew"; and Robert Singerman, "The Amnerican Career of the

Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," American Jewish History 71 (September 1981): 48-78.

30. Pipp to Ford, March 31, 1920, Accession 48, Box 10, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

31. See Ernest Liebold to Edsel Ford, January 23, 1919, Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; Bacon, Reminiscences, 230; and Liebold, Reminiscences, 435.

32. William Cameron, Reminiscences, 9, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

33. Bacon, Reminiscences, 230.

34. Ernest Liebold, Reminiscences, 435, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

35. Liebold, Reminiscences, 435; and Bacon, Reminiscences, 230.

36. See Documents relating to the sales bans and fights, Accession 285, Box 4, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; "Chicago Bars Ford's Paper," New York Times, March 24, 1921; "Stops Sale of Two Papers," New York Times, March 25, 1921; "Riot Over Ford Paper in Toledo," New York Times, April 2, 1921; and "Bill Up in Michigan to Curb Ford's Paper," New York Times, April 13, 1921.

37. Cameron's name began appearing on the masthead at the beginning of 1921, nearly eight months after Pipp's disappeared. According to Liebold, Ford wanted him to become editor, but Liebold deferred to Cameron. Cameron said he was never told he had become editor, but noticed that his name was on the masthead. See Liebold, Reminiscences, 436; and Cameron, Reminiscences, 14.

38. Nevins, Ford: Expansion and Challenge, 316.

39. See Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine, 208; E. G. Pipp, The Real Henry Ford (Detroit: Pipp's Weekly Publishers, 1922), 23; Black, Joint Reminiscences, unbound; and Upton Sinclair, The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America (Girard, KS: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 1937), 58.

40. See Frank Campsall to P. E. Martin, November 18, 1919, Accession 62, Box 81; and Dearborn Publishing Company Daily Circulation Report, December 31, 1921, Accession 285, Box 23. Both are in Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum. Also see Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine, 268.

41. Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine, 270.

42. See H. R. Sunday's Garage to Dearborn Independent, May 16, 1921; A. Osbun to Dearborn Independent, May 18, 1919; R. R. Heath to Dearborn Independent, May 21, 1921; and H. D. Farroir and Company to Dearborn Independent, May 24, 1921. All are in

Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

43. Northrup Auto Company to Dearborn Independent, May 16, 1921, Accession 1, Box 200, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

44. E. C. Lindsay Company to Dearborn Independent, October 12, 1920, Accession 62, Box 100, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

45. Liebold to E. C. Lindsay Company, October 22, 1920, Accession 62, Box 100, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

46. See Black, Joint Reminiscences; Liebold to F. L. Rockelman, February 14, 1922, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; 1923 Subscription Report, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; and William P. Young, A Ford Dealer's Twenty Year Ride The Joy Ride The Sleigh Ride and Rough Ride (Hempstead, New York: Twenty year Ride Publishing, 1932), 117.

47. "Attitudes of New York Dealers Toward THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT," November 10, 1920, Accession 6, Box 35, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

48. See "Christmas Window Displays for Dealers," December 4, 1924, Accession 285, Box 219; and Dearborn Publishing Company to Branches, July 24, 1926, Accession 285, Box 470, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

49. W. E. Blanchard to Branches, February 11, 1926, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

50. R. A. Parkopf to dealers, May 4, 1923, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

51. See Black, Joint Reminiscences, unbound; and "Attitude of New York Dealers Toward THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT," November 10, 1920, Accession 6, Box 35, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

52. Dearborn Publishing Company to Branches, February 18, 1926, Accession 285, Box 470, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

53. Blanchard to Branches, January 12, 1926, Accession 572, Box 2, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

54. Liebold, Reminiscences, 447.

55. Cromwell to Liebold, July 2, 1925, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

56. Cromwell to Black, September 29, 1925, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

57. See E. L. McColgin, Departmental Communication, November 11, 1926, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; Dearborn Publishing Company to Branches, September 3,

1925, Accession 285, Box 359, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum; and "Our Pages Now Closed to Advertisers," Dearborn Independent, March 13, 1926, 18.

58. Harry Dunn, "Jewish Exploitation of Farmers' Organizations (Part 3)," Dearborn Independent, April 26, 1924, 4

59. Lacey, Ford: The Men and the Machine, 214.

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61. Aaron Sapiro, An Experience With American Justice (pamphlet) (New York: Free Synagogue Pulpit, 1928), 11.

62. Sapiro Suit Record, 475, Accession 48, Box 43, Ford Archives, Henry Ford Museum.

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66. "Sapiro Case Settled," Dearborn Independent, July 30, 1927, 11.

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69. Nevins, Ford: Expansion and Challenge, 311.

70. "The Why and Wherefore of the Dearborn Independent," Ford News, October 1, 1924, 3.

71. See Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and The International Jew," 437; and Sward, The Legend of Henry Ford, 160.

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Redefining The News?: Editorial content and the "myth of origin" debate in journalism history

A paper prepared for the History Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

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Abstract

The influence of the penny press of the 1830s on American journalism has been hotly debated. But if the current historical image of the penny press represents an "invented tradition," revisionist historians do not generally adequately address an equally significant question--what aspects of the penny press made it suitable to serve as an "invented tradition." Through a content analysis of the New York Herald and its non-penny press competitors, one aspect of that problem is explored.

Redefining The News?:
Editorial content and the "myth of origin" debate
in journalism history

Introduction: The 1830s in the History of American Journalism

For the past half dozen years, the place of the first generation of penny newspapers--the inexpensive, mass circulation newspapers initiated along the eastern seaboard in the 1830s and 1840s--has been hotly debated. In the traditional telling of the tale, the launch of the New York Herald, New York Sun, Baltimore Sun and Philadelphia Public Ledger, the New York Tribune and the New York Times serve as convenient markers to delineate the pre-history of the American press from the origins of the mass circulation newspapers which have dominated American journalism through most of the Twentieth Century.

Starting with the not disinterested Frederic Hudson, James Gordon Bennett's managing editor for several decades, Bennett, founder of the New York Herald, and a select number of his contemporaries are credited by successive generations of journalism historians with revolutionizing newspapers and setting them on their current course.[1] Just 10 years after Hudson, S.N.D. North opined that the penny press represented the progression of journalism from partisanship to the "higher function of the public journal," namely presenting the news without concern for its effect on political allies or enemies.[2]

About two generations later, Bleyer asserted that the penny press demonstrated to the world for the first time the possibility of appealing to large masses of people.[3] His chapter about Bennett is a litany of the innovations Bennett brought to journalism. Among those innovations were an increased attention to financial reporting, society news and human interest stories.[4] In the final analysis, according to Bleyer, both the news mix and the circulation pattern of Bennett's Herald put newspapers on the road to modernity.

The dominant press histories of the 1940s and the 1950s, also applauded the generation of newspapers of the 1830s for implementing revolutionary changes in journalism. Frank Luther Mott described the journalism of the period from 1833 to 1860 as a "spectacular phenomenon" which introduced "new facets of the news concept" representing nothing short of a "revolution in news."[5] Mott characterized Bennett as one of the half dozen most prominent figures in American journalism and credited him with introducing a wittier, livelier form of journalism more tied to reporting the news than the journalism of his competitors. Emery and Emery also argue that the penny press represented a new epoch in American journalism and lauded Bennett for adding "some needed ingredients" into journalism including "spice and enterprise and aggressive news coverage."[6]

While the standard approach to journalism history has generally been under attack since the mid-1970s,[7] even scholars who reject the notion that newspapers are independent actors in the historical arena, the idea that large scale change should be attributed to the work of individuals, or presentation of the development of journalism as a progressive process from bad to good, concepts the traditional histories embrace, still see the journalism of the 1830s as a significant departure. While carefully and persuasively arguing that the emergence of inexpensive newspapers in the 1820s and 1830s can be best explained by deep rooted economic and social upheavals in American, both Michael Schudson and Daniel Schiller, for example, believe that the period represents a key epoch in American journalism.[8]

The claim that the newspapers in the 1830s constituted a revolution in journalism has been challenged primarily in two ways. In a more limited fashion, objections have been raised to the idea that the idea of "news" was somehow "invented" in this period. In an extremely interesting essay, Nord contends that the subject matter and method of reporting of American news is deeply linked to the religious culture of seventeenth century New England.[9] Mitchell Stephens argues that it is "difficult, if not impossible, to find a society that does not exchange news and that does not build into its rituals and customs means for facilitating that exchange," and faults journalism historians for exaggerating any changes in the understanding of what is news that may have emerged in the 1830s.[10]

A more broad-based attack comes from Nerone, who laid out what he argued were the components of the "mythology" of the penny press and then attempted to undermine the historic validity of each.[11] In the end, he concludes that many of the characteristics of journalism attributed to the penny press were evolutionary not revolutionary and the contribution of the penny press to the development of American journalism has been over estimated.

But that is not the end of the story. While trying to debunk the notion that the notion of news was "invented" in the 1830s, Stephens writes that the penny press attracted readers with "a breezy mix of crime and human interest stories and asserts that it was that kind of news mix which led to their large circulations. He adds that Benjamin Day, the founder of the first successful New York penny newspaper, the Sun, had "stumbled" onto a form of journalism common place in the 16th and 17th centuries.[12] The implication is that although the form of news already existed, Day reintroduced it into a marketplace in which it was not common.

And in the final analysis, even Nerone concedes that "There is no doubt that the unique culture of the penny press left a legacy for U.S. journalism as a whole," and "the leading conductors of the penny press served as role models for other and later journalists." Moreover, he concedes, "the penny papers were the newspaper elite of their day and powerful indeed."[13] In other words, while generally attempting to minimize the impact of the penny press, both Stephens and Nerone concede it may have made a distinct contribution to the development of American journalism.

Research Questions and Method

The revisionist historians have argued that that the penny press has been paid undue attention primarily because that attention served the interests of the development of the professional ideology of journalism in which the primary mission of journalism is for an institutionally autonomous editorial team to "objectively" report the news to a mass audience.[14] But even if the revisionists are right and the penny press does not deserve the place in journalism history in which it now holds, their position leaves several important questions unexamined. For example, what were the aspects and characteristics of the penny press made it useful in service of the professional ideology of journalism leading to the exaggeration of its importance? Why, as Nerone conceded, did the editors of the penny press serve as role models for future journalists if there were competing models available?

Stated more broadly, even if the historical image of the first penny press as a revolution in journalism is an "invented tradition," why was the tradition invented? In general, invented traditions serve specific ends.[15] Why did the journalism of the penny press fit those ends?

This research represents a first step in addressing those questions by looking at the content of newspapers themselves. If the New York Herald did widen the content of news coverage--even if only within the context of the journalism in New York City--to more closely resemble the content of news coverage of later mass circulation newspapers that would at least partly explain why the "mythology" of the penny press developed. On the other hand, if the editorial content of the Herald's competitors was similar both before and after the launch of the Herald, the ways in which the penny press served the professional ideology of journalism must be looked for elsewhere.

To explore that argument, this study compares the content of several New York newspapers before and after the launch of the New York Herald.[16] The comparison is conducted along several axes in keeping with Nerone's observation that the within the context of the "mythology" the content of the penny press, and the Herald in particular, should be more politically neutral or at least independent of political parties, cover a wider range of topics emphasizing sensationalism and human interest stories, and be written in a more sprightly fashion.

The newspapers selected for comparison were the *New York Evening Post*,the *New York Commercial Advertiser* and the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. All three newspapers predated the *Herald* and lasted well beyond its establishment. The *New York Commercial Advertiser* was founded in 1797 as *American Minerva* and lasted until the 1920s, when, as the *New York Globe*, Frank Munsey closed it. The *New York Evening Post* was founded in 1801 and was still publishing as of the Summer of 1993.[17] The *New York Courier and Enquirer* was formed in 1829 through a merger of the *Morning Courier*, which had been established in 1827, and the *New York Enquirer*. At the time, it was the most widely circulated newspaper in New York. It lasted until 1861, when its proprietor, Colonel James Watson Webb retired.[18]

To examine the concept of political independence, the prospectus of each newspaper was examined to determine the level of partisanship expressed. The newspaper prospectus or salutatory editorial is a useful insight in determining the public intentions, political and otherwise, of the editors publishing a newspaper.[19]

Next, a random selection of the news coverage of each newspaper prior to the launch of the *Herald* was analyzed to see if their pre-penny press content contained the kind of story mix generally ascribed to the penny press. Then, an entire week of coverage--February 15 to 20, 1836--was compared in the *Herald* and the other three newspapers to test similarities in story selection shortly after the launch of the *Herald*. This comparison serves to judge if the *Herald* delivered a significantly different news product.

The week of February 15 to 20, 1836 was selected for this preliminary study for two reasons. First, no major, easily remembered political event occurred during that week. It was just a regular week. Secondly, the Herald had just started publishing. The Herald was an instant success. Within several months, it claimed the largest readership in New York. By looking at a week of coverage early in its history, it can be determined if a new news mix contributed to that early success. Presumably, if the Herald's news mix was the reason for its popularity, competitors could react and the differences between the newspapers would be obscured later. The difference in news mix should be starkest shortly after the Herald was launched.

The final point of potential comparison--writing style--is highly subjective and not given to easy, objective comparison. Moreover, bright writing is a slender thread on which to base an entire revolution. Consequently, only a few observations will be made in this area.

Selective Analysis of The Pre-Herald Press in New York

As the oldest newspaper in the sample, the content of the Commercial Advertiser prior to the launch of the will be very cursorily reviewed. Closer attention will be paid the Post because it outlasted all the others and the Courier and Enquirer because it was the largest newspaper at the time the Herald was started.

On October 1, 1797, the first issue of the Commercial Advertiser, an evening newspaper in New York appeared. The editors reported that the paper has been established because a dispute had erupted among the proprietors of the Minerva. The new paper, the editors wrote in its salutatory editorial, "will be a friend of government, morals and truth--independent of party and national prejudice." Moreover, the editors wrote, they had correspondents throughout Europe and United States who were "all men of fine respectability." Finally, current commodity prices would be regularly furnished by "a careful broker." The price of the newspaper would be $8 a year.[20]

The Commercial Advertiser's salutatory editorial raises several interesting points conflicting with the received wisdom that the professed political independence and attention to news gathering and business reporting was an innovation of the Herald or the penny press. Clearly the editors were claiming to be politically independent, although their concurrent claim to support the government belies that. Secondly, the editorial indicates that the editors felt that having a far flung network of credible correspondents and business information would make their newspaper more appealing.

A survey of the content of the Commercial Advertiser for the remainder of its first year reveals that its columns were filled primarily with foreign dispatches, advertisements and prices of different commodities. Typical advertisements included announcements for cloth, linen, coffee, pipe tobacco, wine, scotch, barley and sugar. Moreover, there were listings of boat sailings and the solicitation and the awarding of government contracts. During this period, there was a great deal of repetition of news material, with the same articles appearing in several editions.[21]

By 1825, the most striking change in the Commercial Advertiser was that it had moved from a tabloid size to a broadsheet and the scope of its content had expanded was well. For example, in its March 11, 1825 issue the newspaper had a long unsigned article which the newspaper said had been received from its London office about the reception to M. Kean's portrayal of Othello. "The performance was not sold out" but there was "a lot of pandemonium when Kean made his appearance," the correspondent noted. In the same issue, there was a lengthy report from Portland, Maine, detailing a lawsuit brought by one Mary Pease against Lewis Stetton for breach of promise of marriage. Pease was suing for $5000. There was a dispatch from one of the Commercial Advertiser's editors in Albany and price listings for bonds, bank shares, fire insurance and marine insurance. The next day, the newspaper ran an article from its correspondent in Washington lauding John Quincy Adams' inaugural address. In the style of the time, the report began, "I hail with emotions of unqualified pleasure..."[22]

Within that two day stretch, the Commercial Advertiser carried content which touched on virtually every area generally credited to the penny press. There was an article about entertainment, a human interest story, politics, and business information. Four years later,in 1829, the newspaper routinely devoted approximately seven out of 28 available columns (four pages per issue, seven columns per page) to editorial material. The content covered the same general range of topics as in 1825 as well as a constable's report.

Based on issues published in early July 1829, it appears that the Commercial Advertiser carried a fairly standard mix of articles. On July 8, the newspaper published at article which indicates that it was engaged in an ongoing argument with the Courier and Enquirer about certain policies of the Adams and Jackson administrations and speculation about what would happen if Clay won the presidency in 1832.[23]

But in addition to the content consistent with that of the penny press, the Commercial Advertiser also published articles which reflect more of the type of content generally attributed to pre-penny press newspapers--long political essays not necessarily linked to specific events. For example, on July 8, 1829, it devoted several columns to two long essays looking at the history and influence of tariffs and duties on the British economy and the impact of machinery on the economy.[24]

But how typical was the Commercial Advertiser in this period? To examine that question, the content of the New York Evening Post in the early 1800s and the Courier and Enquirer and the late 1820s was reviewed.

The prospectus of the New York Evening Post was published on November 16, 1801. Addressed to the merchants and respectable classes of the city, editor William Coleman wrote that the purpose of the Post was to "diffuse correct information on all interesting subjects and to inculcate just principles in religion, morals and politics and to cultivate a taste for sound literature."

He asserted that he believed in the Federal system of politics as the "most conducive to the welfare of our community and the best calculated to insure permanency to our present form of government." But he also went on to add that he opposed "the spirit of dogmatism which lays exclusive claim to infallibility" and noted that "honest and virtuous men were found in each party" and that what the people wanted was correct information to judge what was really best for them. Therefore the Post would be "equally free to all parties." Coleman also indicated that he would review all communications with equal partiality and protect the secrecy of all correspondents. He did, however, reserve the right to reply to a correspondent if a reply was proper or necessary.[25]

Like the Commercial Advertiser, the Post was claiming political independence. But also like the Commercial Advertiser, the claim is not to be entirely believed. The following week, the Post reprinted an approving column for the U.S. Gazette describing it as "a strong pillar of Federalism."[26]

And as early as his first editorial, Coleman began to swipe at his opponents, declaring how the Post will distinguish itself by engaging only in "temperate discussion" and not succumb to the "personal invectives, low sarcasm and verbal contentions" of the editors of other newspapers. He hoped that "depravity of morals, corruption of taste and contempt for private reputation was not so widespread" as to force him to abandon journalism or to be an "accessory to the degradation of the national character."[27]

Of course, that wasn't to be. Coleman was almost immediately engaged in hostile invective with other editors. Within a week, he was forced to respond to charges in the Citizen that he had forged a letter to the Post. In answering the accusation, Coleman wrote, that he had no intention of "exhibiting himself like a pugilist in a bear (sic) garden."[28] In that same issue, Coleman, in an effort to explain the errors that had appeared in his newspapers complained about the arduous duties of an editor, which were to collect news, select abstracts, frame and amend advertisements, provide originality, hear and address complaints of omission, establish carrier routes and see them observed and to correct proof sheets.

Most noteworthy is the idea that collecting the news was the first duty of an editor, in Coleman's perspective. While collecting the news is a different activity that reporting the news, it is still a primary function of editing even today. As early as 1801, Coleman is defining the editor's job in relationship to the presentation of news rather than political polemic or other types of discourse.

There was an interesting mix of news reports in the early days of the Post. The newspaper carried an announcement followed by a critique signed by a correspondent called Thespis of the presentation of Lover's Vows and Fortune's Frolic Force at the New York Theater. It also printed an article from the theater manager explaining his decision to ban the smoking of cigars during performances (the theater was inadequately insured against fire) and urging patrons not to give away their pass checks during intermission (it corrupted the morals of young people who took the checks to see the remainder of the shows.)[29]

Although there was no report from the New York Courts, there was a lengthy, detailed account of a case heard at the King's Bench in Westminster. The case involved a "respectable, amiable, well-connected woman" in Dublin who surrendered her virtue to an officer in the Royal Navy who later abandoned her and his child who was born out of wedlock. She sued for child support and won damages of 40 pounds and an annuity of 12 pounds.[30] This was an emotional human interest story written by a correspondent. It was not a dry court document.

The Post was also sensitive to the needs of a newspaper to report the news in a timely fashion. On November 20, 1801, it "stopped the presses" to report that Britain and France and agreed to a preliminary peace treaty.[31] Bond prices were also a regular feature in the Post.

But it is a letter to the editor in the first Post that perhaps best demonstrates the scope of news coverage in the period. In the letter, the correspondent wonders how many crimes, accidents and other horrible incidents have to be reported in the newspaper. There seems to be a rivalry among printers, the writer observed, to report "the strangest and most horrible crimes. Every horrid newspaper story produces a shock." With the population of New York the size it was, the writer contended, crime and accidents were going to occur--but did readers have to read about all of them, he wondered. Moreover, he contended, "Printing wonderful tales of crimes and accidents is worse than ridiculous; as it corrupts both the public taste and morals" and "makes shocking things familiar and draws away from familiar truths which are not shocking."[32] In 1801, crime and the extraordinary were standard features in newspapers.[33]

But the Post also devoted considerable attention to political polemic. It consistently and vigorously defended the sedition laws and other actions of the Federalist administration prior to Jefferson and ridiculed the Jeffersonian attack on those actions.[34]

The final pre-Herald newspaper to be examined for content is the Courier and Enquirer, which was formed in 1829 through the merger of two competitive newspapers. When it was formed the new newspaper claimed a circulation of 4,000, which, it asserted, made it the most widely circulated newspaper in New York.[35] Moreover, James Gordon Bennett worked for the Courier and Enquirer. Consequently, the Courier and Enquirer should be the standard by which the Herald should be judged. Not only was the Courier and Enquirer the preeminent newspaper in New York, Bennett was undoubtedly influenced in some way, either positively or negatively, by his experience there.

Unlike new newspapers, the merged Courier and Enquirer did not have to fully explain its mission to its readers. Instead, it had to explain how two newspapers which had competed with each other could now operate as a single entity. The answer in the salutary editorial was that both newspapers were republican newspapers and that both had served "principles, not men." The newspaper, the proprietor Webb went on to write, would support the current administration "if they adhered to the principles" to which they professed and which had lead them to electoral victory. Finally, the editorial implored the readers of both newspapers to continue reading the combined venture and assured them that it could rely on the Courier and Enquirer to supply facts and commercial intelligence.[36]

Like the Post and like the Commercial Advertiser, the Courier and Enquirer was claiming a degree of political independence. The phrase "Principles, not men," became the newspaper's motto.

The editorial mix of the Courier and Enquirer was even more "contemporary" than that of the other two newspapers. The Courier and Enquirer regularly carried reports about dances held in New York. In 1831, for example, it reported on the preparations for the Fancy Ball, which was scheduled for the following week. The French War Minister was expected to attend as were three quarters of the members of Congress with their daughters and cousins. Eligible bachelors from as far away as Baltimore were expected to make the trek to New York. The New York "belles" would tame those semi-barbarians like "the French tamed the Cossacks."[37]

In addition to society news, the Courier and Enquirer had regular reports from "The Spy in Washington,"[38] as well as verbatim transcription of debate in the House of Representatives and the Senate. In an interesting report, the appropriations for the salaries for members of the executive branch of government was printed.[39] The newspaper carried financial information, including prices of bonds and banks shares, insurance rates, and commodity prices.[40] And there was foreign correspondence.[41]

Moreover, the newspaper had a wide selection of crime reporting and what can be described as human interest stories, filled with specific, often vivid details supplied by the correspondents. In its first week of joint publication, when the space for editorial was limited because of the quantity of advertising, the Courier and Enquirer carried a story about John Watson, the victim of a highway robbery on the road to Hempstead, New York. The story noted Watson had "two pistols held to his breast"[42] On March 12, 1833, there was a long report on the trial of the Reverend E.K. Avery, a "good looking" Methodist minister about 5 feet 11 inches tall accused of murdering a woman. The correspondent noted that the Reverend had many female visitors and "some believe his innocence."[43]

On that same day, there was an article about a bill in front of the Pennsylvania State Legislature to allow the divorce of Thomas Hayes and Caroline Geddes. The article contained an in-depth survey of their childhood and courtship and noted that the marriage had never been consummated. Shortly before her marriage, it appears that Caroline had fallen in love with somebody else. "Frailty, your name is women," the correspondent wrote, "But with all their faults, we still love them." The correspondent concluded the law legalizing divorce had been passes specifically for cases such as this one.[44]

A week earlier, the newspaper carried a story which had first appeared in the Providence Herald about a young woman who had fallen through the ice into a pond on her way to work in a factory. Her mother witnessed the heroic but failed rescue attempts. Later the woman, age 16, was found at the bottom of the pond "kneeling with her hands over her head."[45]

As this very random survey demonstrates, all the elements of editorial content generally ascribed to the penny press were evident in New York newspapers prior to the launch of the New York Herald. These newspapers were not simply bastions of vituperative politic polemic. In fact, the editors routinely claimed political independence. The papers carried graphic human interest stories about common people; they had crime stories and crime reports; they had financial information. Moreover, like the penny press, they prided themselves on their correspondents and their ability to print the news in a timely fashion.

A One Week Comparison of News Content in Four Newspapers

Although the random sampling of editorial content of pre-penny press newspapers suggests that the editorial content of the penny press was not innovative, it is only a random sample. Perhaps when closely compared side-by-side, James Gordon Bennett's news choices will appear distinct and innovative. To explore that possibility, a full week of news coverage in the all four newspapers was compared.

As noted earlier, the week of February 15, 1836 was chosen for two reasons. First, nothing of particular historical importance seemed to have occurred that week. Secondly, the Herald was still less than a year old and still sold for a penny. Any gross distinctions between it and its more established competitors should be apparent.

The first point of comparison among the newspapers is the size and amount of news coverage. The Commercial Advertiser and the Courier and Enquirer were broadsheets while the Herald was still a tabloid.[46] All the newspapers proportionally devoted about the same amount of space to editorial content, generally about five to seven columns.[47]

In terms of editorial content, in the week under study,[48] there was a great deal of overlap both in specific stories covered and in types of stories covered in all four newspapers. In fact, only two differences are readily apparent. The editorial content in the New York Post was somewhat more weighted to political discourse than the other newspapers and the editorial material in the Herald was more salacious and pugnacious.

The top stories of the week were carried in all the newspapers under examination. They included the deliberations in Pennsylvania to recharter the Bank of the United States, events related to the Seminole war in Florida and the deliberations in Congress about the Fortification Bill, a proposal to use the surplus in the U.S. Treasury to bolster the country's military fortifications along the coast, the abolition of slavery and other issues. Deliberations with France about debts that country owed the U.S. were also reported as were activities in the New York Assembly and State Senate and the Board of Aldermen. And each newspaper had theater reviews and announcements.

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In addition to the stories each newspapers had in common to some degree, each newspaper also carried exclusive stories. The exclusive stories were often about crime or human interest stories or were attacks on other newspapers. For example, on February 15, the Herald ran an excerpt of a book which purported to be an expose of woman abused by Catholic priests. At one point, the excerpt is interrupted when Bennett notes that "here occurs a passage too indecent for our columns," but "the pious believer" could read about it at full length in the book.[49] Bennett devoted several more articles during the week about the controversy swirling around the book.

The next day, Bennett ran a story about a retailer accused of drilling holes in the floor of his store so he could satisfy his "libidinous curiosity" by looking up the dresses of his female patrons. The following day the Herald carried an article about a book which claimed to a secret history of what took place in the "interior" rooms of the Chatham Theater under a former manager. There were also two reports from the General Sessions of the New York Court including the sentencing of the Fowler brothers of burglary. The Fowler brothers' story also appeared in the Courier and Enquirer and the Post.

Bennett also vigorously attacked other newspapers during the week. He ran two stories accusing the Sun of accepting a $750 bribe for not printing a specific article and two stories accusing Colonel Webb of the Courier and Enquirer of participating in a scheme to corner the beef market to hike up prices. About Webb, Bennett wrote that he had "personal knowledge of the rapacious character of the man from his past history of stock gambling of all kinds" and that Webb probably was not involved

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While Bennett may have had more sexually oriented stories and attacked other editors more sharply, sex appeared in the Courier and Enquirer as well. There is a long story about a visitor from New Jersey who claimed to have been robbed during a visit to Five Points, which is described as a "queer" place. The story reports that the visitor met a "frail but fair" inhabitant who offered herself to him and then continues "Here we must be permitted to draw a veil over the frailties of human nature."[51] There were also reports of attempted suicides, the court proceedings of a district court case in which a sea captain Lemuel Harvey was accused of murdering a ship's cook, an assassination attempt of a theater manager in Albany and the story of an African American child who froze to death in the Catskill Mountains. Throughout the week there were stories about divorces, murder attempts and the death of common people by other causes.[52] Two articles about a supposed riot near Chattaqua, New York appeared. And Webb also attacked the New York Globe for winning patronage printing contracts.

The editorial content of the Commercial Advertiser and the Post stayed more heavily fixed on political matters than the Herald and the Courier and Enquirer. In addition to the Fowler brothers' story, the Commercial Advertiser carried reports of an embezzlement case in Boston and police statistics from 1814 to 1835. There was also an attack on a minister for wanting to open a dance school.

In the Post, in addition to the sentencing of the Fowler Brothers, the so-called assassination attempt of the manager of the Albany theater, the riots near Chattaqua and the case of Captain Harvey, there were articles about the suicide attempt of on Stephen Macauley of Philadelphia and an odd story about a merchant fighting off an attack by a rabid dog. Many of the human interest stories reported in the Post were reprinted from the Courier and Enquirer. Moreover, unlike the other newspapers, the Post continued to print lengthy political discourses. In this week there were several long articles arguing against vested rights. The Post also printed an article under the pen name Pro Bono Publico charging the Bowery Fire Insurance Company with fiscal foul play.

In reading the newspapers side by side for a week, it is clear that though distinct in tone, the Herald's choice of news content was not radically different than the other papers. The Herald appears somewhat more pugnacious and salacious than the other newspapers. But in terms of story type and coverage, there is less difference between the Herald and the Post, which was the most politically focussed of the competition examined, and the Herald and the Commercial Advertiser which was the most reserved of the competitors, than say the New York Times and the New York Post or the New York Times and USA Today today.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper was to begin to examine the question what aspects of the journalism of the penny press, and particularly the Herald, made it useful to the myth of origin of professional journalism. The first place to look, it was argued, was at editorial content. If the penny press contained material more reflective of the editorial content of contemporary newspapers, that, in and of itself, would make it appropriate fodder for the myth of origin. Indeed, if the penny press was distinct just within context of the journalism of New York, that potentially would have allowed it eventually to influence journalism throughout the country.

But this study has revealed two aspects of the editorial character of the penny press both of which mitigate against editorial content being the reason the journalism of this period has assumed such an important place in traditional journalism history. First, claims of political independence were routinely issued by new newspapers. In no way does it seem that Bennett's claim of political independence for the Herald would seem novel for the readers at the time or that it would give the Herald a distinct position in the marketplace.

Secondly, based on this pilot survey, the editorial content of the Herald was not particularly differentiated from pre-penny press newspapers or its competitors. Newspapers established prior to the 1830s carried the same range of material as the penny press. Moreover, the side-by-side comparison of the Herald to its competitors revealed more similarities than differences in editorial content and presentation.

This is not to deny that the Herald was distinct. But, ironically, the way in which it was most distinct--the use of more sexually oriented material and the willingness to attack other newspapers--are not characteristics for which it has been lauded over time. Nor have those aspects of the penny press remained active in contemporary newspapers. In fact, newspapers today are far less willing to attack their competitors in their editorial material. Nor are they particularly aggressive in publishing sexually oriented material.

The weight of the initial evidence in this research suggests that it was not its distinct editorial content which has focussed historical attention on the penny press. That riddle has yet to be unravelled.

Endnotes

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13. ibid pg. 402

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15. Hobsbawm, Eric The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983)

16. This method of analysis of social phenomenon has been called the found experiment by the sociologist David Phillips. For an example see Phillips, David P. and Elliot King "Death Takes a Holiday: Mortality Surrounding Major Social Occasions" The Lancet, September 24, 1988 No. 8613 pgs. 728-732

17. On that date, however, its future looked tenuous.

18. Bleyer. op. cit. pg. 147

19. Dooley, Patricia "Newspaper Prospectuses--1704-1763: A Descriptive Study of Occupational Messages and Meanings" History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Montreal, Canada 1992

20. Commercial Advertiser, October 1, 1797 pg. 3 At $8 a year for a five-day a week paper works out to around three cents a copy. As such, even the Herald's pricing was perhaps not as radical as is generally thought. It depends if credit was available, whether newspaper reading was a daily habit and, most important, the value of the currency and inflation.

Currency problems were one of the issues that had hastened the demise of the Federal government established under the Articles of Confederation and money was available from many different sources.

21. These conclusions are based on reading 12 issues of the tabloid size newspaper. At the time, Congress was not in session so the newspapers attention to national political issues was not evident.

22. Commercial Advertiser March 11, 1825, March 12, 1835

23. Commercial Advertiser July 8, 1829

24. Commercial Advertiser July 8, 1829,

25. New York Evening Post November 11, 1801 pg. 1

26. New York Post November 20, 1801 pg. 3

27. ibid pg. 3

28. New York Post November 19, 1801 pg. 2

29. New York Post November 16, 1801 pg. 3, November 18, 1801

30. New York Post November 20, 1801 pg. 2

31. New York Post November 20, 1801 pg. 3

32. New York Evening Post November 16, 1801 pg. 2

33. Indeed, there is good evidence that reporting on crime and the extraordinary were standard elements of American journalism from the beginning. See, for example, Clark, Charles E. "The Newspapers of Provincial America" Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper (Worcester, MA: The American Antiquarian Society, 1991) pgs. 367-389

34. For just two examples see, New York Post November 21, 1801 pg. 3, May 28, 1802

35. New York Courier and Enquirer May 25, 1829 pg. 2. In general, historians contrast the Herald's circulation against this figure. But it is reasonable to assume that the Courier and Enquirer's circulation grew over the years, casting doubt on how much larger the Herald actually was. Along the same lines, the Courier and Enquirer had an annual subscription rate of $10 for six issues a week which comes to a little more than three cents an issue. A biweekly county edition cost $4 a year, still less than four cents an issue. A weekly edition cost $3 a year or almost six cents an issue.

36. ibid

37. Courier and Enquirer March 11, 1831 pg. 2

38. The Spy in Washington was James Gordon Bennett.

39. ibid, pg. 1 The appropriate for the President, Vice President, Secretaries of War, Treasury, State and Navy and the Postmaster General combined was $60,000.

40. For example, Courier and Enquirer March 12, 1833 pg. 2

41. For example in the Courier and Enquirer March 14, 1833 pg. 2 there were reports on events in England, Ireland, Egypt and Turkey.

42. Courier and Enquirer May 29, 1829 pg. 2

43. Courier and Enquirer March 12, 1833 pg. 2

44. ibid pg. 3

45. Courier and Enquirer March 6, 1833 pg. 3

46. Once again this calls into question pricing. Although the Herald was less expensive than the other papers, it also offered less material.

47. Occasionally it is hard to separate reading matter--that is,

advertising disguised as editorial--from true editorial material making an exact comparison difficult. Also, the columns in the Post were wider than the columns in the other newspapers.

48. To avoid footnoting every line, the material in the following section is drawn from the New York Herald, New York Courier and Enquirer, New York Commercial Advertiser and New York Post from February 15 through February 19, 1836.

49. Herald February 15, 1836, pg. 1

50. Herald February 18, 1836

51. Courier and Enquirer February 16, 1836 pg. 2

52. For example, the death from over intoxication of Bridget Nelson, 26, an immigrant from Ireland, is reported on February 17, 1836.

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William Howard Taft may have been the last American president to take office without a conscious strategy of seeking public support by cultivating the press.[1] During his single term, from 1909 to 1913, he eschewed the tactics of managing presidential news coverage so vigorously applied by his predecessor, Theodore Roosevelt.[2] Instead, Taft preferred a laissez-faire approach to public opinion, based on the notion that his accomplishments would speak for themselves.[3] In a rare magazine interview in 1910, he stated that "what I hope for my administration is the accomplishment of definite results, which will be self-explanatory."[4] Richard A. Ballinger, Taft's Secretary of Interior, called the policy one of "nonpublicity."[5]

This paper started with the assumption that Taft's hands-off policy toward presidential publicity -- and its consequences -- were as worthy of examination as examples of presidential aggressiveness in leading public opinion through the press.[6] The case study examined Taft's relationship with the Washington, D.C., correspondents during his first year as President, beginning in

March 1909. It focused particularly on Taft's reactions to highly publicized charges of corruption directed at Ballinger by Gifford Pinchot and other progressive critics.

The paper suggests that the consequences of Taft's policy of nonpublicity were indicative of the profound changes taking place in the relationship between presidents and the press early in the twentieth century.[7] In trying to ignore the Washington, D.C., correspondents, Taft failed to conform to the expectations of a new relationship between presidents and the press that had formed during the administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. McKinley, who became President in 1897, and Roosevelt, who succeeded him in 1901, had encouraged the growth of a nascent White House press corps. To interest these correspondents in the presidency as a source of news -- and to shape that news from the President's perspective -- McKinley and Roosevelt established practices that formed the basis for an institutionalized relationship.[8]

These practices included supplying the correspondents with information and guidance for news stories, both on a regularly scheduled basis and on demand; providing advance copies of speeches and statements; arranging frequent opportunities to chat with the President, even if off the record, and producing news on presidential trips and at summer retreats. Under Roosevelt, who was, as his admiring aide, Archie Butt, remarked, "his own press agent," the flow of information from the president to the correspondents increased dramatically. In addition to telling the correspondents his views, Roosevelt also guided what they wrote by telling them what he thought the news was and how they should prepare it.[9]

To take advantage of this growing supply of news from the White House, the correspondents established parallel working practices to listen to what the President or his Secretary wanted to tell them, to compose that the information into news stories, and to pass those stories along to their editors. The White House became a regular "beat," an addition to the traditional focus on Congress. Groups of correspondents now called regularly at the White House to receive scheduled briefings from the staff or to await developments in a press room set aside for their convenience. For the favored, "fair-haired boys," who enjoyed Roosevelt's confidence and were invited to his daily "seances," covering the President could be a rewarding full-time job.[10]

In other words, by the end of Roosevelt's presidency, a mutually beneficial relationship had been established between the President and the correspondents to produce news stories about the administration on a regular basis. Writing about the President was no longer a novel event for the correspondents: it was a routine -- and expected -- condition of their employment. "It was a wonderful stream, and it furnished entertainment and gossip not only to Washington, but to the whole country," Edward G. Lowry wrote nostalgically after Roosevelt left office. "Washington correspondents counted the day lost that brought from the White House no 'color story' of some new Roosevelt performance."[11]

But when Taft became President, in March 1909, he generally ignored the routine practices of providing news that the correspondents had come to expect. Unlike Roosevelt, Taft was rarely available to speak with correspondents personally, and his Secretary in his first year, Fred W. Carpenter, was neither as helpful nor as voluble as McKinley's George Cortelyou or Roosevelt's William Loeb.[12] In a letter to William Allen White shortly after becoming President, Taft wrote: "I am not constituted as Mr. Roosevelt is in being able to keep the country advised every few days as to the continuance of the state of mind in reference to reform. It is a difference of temperament. He talked with correspondents a great deal. His heart was generally on his sleeve and he must communicate his feelings. I find myself unable to do so."[13]

Within days of Taft's inauguration, the correspondents were writing about the "good old days" under Roosevelt and worrying about where to find news about the presidency to satisfy their editors.[14] Less than three weeks into the Taft presidency, a spokesman for the alarmed correspondents, Alfred Henry Lewis, appealed to Archie Butt, the White House military aide. Butt replied that "the press, with the rest of the country, would have to readjust itself to the new conditions just as the people would have to do later. It is impossible for Mr. Taft to do as Mr. Roosevelt did and keep the press fed with news every hour of the day." When Butt told Taft of the conversation, the President said, bluntly, that "the people of the country elected me, I believe, and damn it, I am going to give it to them whether they like or not."[15]

To the correspondents, the spring and summer of 1909 brought a continuing series of disappointments with the new administration. "Since Roosevelt, very little news has come out of the White House," an anonymous correspondent complained in American Magazine.[16] Not only was Taft generally unavailable, the correspondents found that in Cabinet meetings and at the Justice Department, "the new lid is gradually being closed on government information," according to the trade journal Editor and Publisher. The journal ran a cartoon of dejected correspondents standing around outside the White House gate, on which a sign read: "Administration news made public only on rare occasions; newspaper men kindly but firmly requested to keep away."[17]

Even the texts of presidential speeches, sometimes distributed weeks ahead of delivery in the Roosevelt years, were no longer available in advance. Walter E. Clark of the New York Sun wrote to a frustrated editor in Seattle that, "The President simply is not forehanded about these things but, on the contrary, is extremely dilatory. It is a condition which does not seem likely to improve."[18] Late in 1909, Taft refused to mail the newspapers advance copies of his annual message to Congress, an expected practice of presidents since the days of Grover Cleveland. Taft complained to Archie Butt that "the press was urging him to finish the message so that it could be sent all over the country by mail, but he was not going to do it, and the press would have to send it by wire."[19]

On Taft's first presidential trip to his summer retreat at Beverly, Massachusetts, in June 1909, the correspondents found that another of the routine practices of newsgathering established under Roosevelt -- reporting on the activities of the summer White House -- had also been curtailed. Arthur Wallace Dunn of the Associated Press went to Beverly hoping to get material for a series of stories on Taft's first months in office. Instead, he was shunned by Secretary Carpenter and forced to wait in the rain with the other correspondents until a sympathetic Archie Butt invited them to take shelter on the porch. Just before Taft finally appeared, Dunn wrote that he overheard the President complaining from around the corner: "Must I see these men again? Didn't I see them the other day?" Taft then was unresponsive to questions and objected to having his picture taken by photographers. Dunn noted in his autobiography that was the last time he saw Taft at his summer retreat, and that the series of articles was never written.[20]

Left without interpretive briefings, informal interviews, advice, announcements, reports of Cabinet meetings, speech texts or staged events to provide the grist for their daily stories, the White House correspondents turned to writing about Taft's callers, the president's golf game, his family, and the rumors of the day. When it became clear that the relationship they had with Roosevelt would not be renewed, the correspondents were forced to meet their editors' expectations for stories about the President by turning to other sources, including Congress, and, increasingly, to Taft's critics. These included progressive followers of Roosevelt still in the government, who also were becoming disillusioned with the Taft administration and saw in the press' need for presidential news an opportunity to challenge Taft's policies.

Foremost among the progressive critics was Gifford Pinchot, chief of the U.S. Forest Service, a close advisor to Roosevelt and a formidable publicist in his own behalf. Pinchot had created the first formally designated government "press bureau" in the Forest Service in 1905, and he had promoted one of the Roosevelt administration's major legacies, the government crusade for conservation.[21] By early 1909, Pinchot and other conservationists were dismayed with what they regarded as Taft's abandonment of Roosevelt's policies. They found a press eager for stories about the administration when they began a series of leaks intended to undermine the policies of Taft's Secretary of Interior, Richard A. Ballinger.[22]

Their success in what became known as the Ballinger-Pinchot conflict of 1909-1910 was helped not only by the receptiveness of the correspondents but by Taft's policy of nonpublicity. Unlike Roosevelt, Taft seemed unconcerned about leaks to the press from his administration, and he was disinclined to involve himself with publicity in any case. He chose not to respond to the increasing flow of critical newspaper and magazine stories prompted by Pinchot and his allies.[23] Operating in a news vacuum created by the absence of presidential information and guidance to the correspondents, Pinchot was able to stimulate a publicity scandal that badly damaged the administration. The conflict -- and its sensational news coverage -- cost the President public support, the good will of the Roosevelt progressives, and, eventually, the friendship and political support of Roosevelt himself.

The evidence gathered for this study documents the sources and the outlines of the publicity campaign against Ballinger, the resulting newspaper and magazine stories, and Taft's repeated unwillingness to involve his presidency in the distasteful business of publicity. The campaign of leaks to the press began early in the summer of 1909. By fall, it had grown into a front-page scandal in the daily newspapers and critical articles in muckraking magazines.

The first stories appeared in publications sympathetic to the Roosevelt reformers, including the Philadelphia Press and The Outlook magazine, where Roosevelt himself was now a columnist. The Press carried a story on 9 May 1909 which warned that Secretary Ballinger was about to turn over 5 million acres of publicly-owned land to the private "water power trust." The accusation led E.F. Baldwin, editor of The Outlook, to question Ballinger, who had been a college classmate. Ballinger denied that he was trying to reverse the Roosevelt conservation program or that he disagreed with Pinchot and another Roosevelt conservation ally, Frederick Newell, chief of the U.S. Reclamation Service.[24] However, additional stories appeared in June and July of 1909 that accused Ballinger not only of betraying the Roosevelt legacy but also of trying to fire Newell. The national muckraking magazines American and Collier's Weekly also took note of the dispute and suggested editorially that Ballinger should resign if he could not carry on Roosevelt's policies.[25]

That these and the later stories were prompted by leaks from Roosevelt holdovers in the Taft administration was never in question. Ballinger was warned in early August by a sympathetic newspaperman, Walter E. Clark of the New York Sun, that the press bureaus of the Reclamation Service and the Forest Service were responsible. Clark named one publicist in the Reclamation Service, whom he said was carried on the payroll as a statistician.[26]

Before Ballinger could respond to this information, however, he found himself the target of a nationally distributed United Press story that accused him of turning over to the "power trust" more than 15,000 acres of potential hydroelectric power sites on public land in Montana.[27] Distribution of the United Press story coincided with Ballinger's arrival in Spokane, Washington, to address the National Irrigation Congress, an industry group. Because of the earlier reports of conflict between Pinchot and Ballinger, a group of Washington, D.C., correspondents had traveled to Spokane to hear Ballinger -- and Pinchot -- speak. The timely appearance of the water power story effectively set the news agenda for the conference. The next day's stories focused on the accusation against Ballinger, which was taken up by Pinchot's allies at the conference, and on Ballinger's unwillingness to respond.[28]

The water power story was followed within days by another, more damaging, story that Ballinger was about to be accused of personal corruption in the handling of an investigation into improper claims on federal coal lands in Alaska. This story, and the Forest Service's role in promoting it to newspapers and magazines, led eventually to Pinchot's firing by Taft in January 1910; to a congressional investigation of the dispute; to Ballinger's resignation in 1911, and to a widening rift between Taft and Roosevelt. It also demonstrated how unanswered news stories could undermine a President.

The primary source of the allegations against Ballinger was Louis Glavis, a disgruntled employee of the General Land Office, an agency of Ballinger's Interior Department. Glavis believed that Ballinger was hindering an investigation into questionable mining claims in Alaska that had been filed by, among others, Clarence Cunningham, a former legal client of Ballinger's. To Glavis, this was part of a plan by unscrupulous Wall Street interests to seize Alaska's mineral resources. Rebuffed by his supervisors -- and after an unsuccessful appeal to Ballinger himself in May 1909 -- Glavis looked outside his own agency for help in publicizing his complaint.[29]

In July 1909, Glavis sent a telegram promising sensational revelations against Ballinger to Forest Service headquarters in Washington, D.C. Pinchot was traveling in the West but Overton W. Price, the associate forester, and Alexander C. Shaw, the agency's legal officer, started an investigation. Shaw went to General Land Office headquarters in Washington, D.C., to study the files on the Cunningham claims, and a similar search took place at the agency's regional headquarters in Portland, Oregon. However, Glavis, impatient with the pace of the investigation, decided to present his complaint personally to Pinchot. He went to Spokane and met with Pinchot at the forester's hotel during the National Irrigation Congress.[30]

Pinchot recognized the significance of the charges and advised Glavis to carry his complaint against Ballinger directly to Taft, who was then at his summer retreat at Beverly, Massachusetts. Pinchot gave Glavis two introductory letters for Taft, one of which advised the President, somewhat disengenuously, that "various parts of Glavis' story are so much known that I believe it will be impossible to prevent it becoming public, in part at least, and before very long. Many persons have knowledge of more or less essential portions." Pinchot also ordered Shaw of the Forest Service to meet with Glavis in Chicago and to help him to prepare the presentation to Taft.[31]

In addition, Pinchot and his associates, Price and Shaw, immediately alerted friendly newspaper correspondents to the forthcoming Glavis allegations. Publication of these allegations, closely following the United Press story and the previous reports of feuding between Pinchot and Ballinger, ignited a front-page newspaper frenzy in the slow news atmosphere of summertime Washington, D.C. The first stories appeared on 13 August 1909, and, fed by continuing leaks from the Forest Service, stayed on the front pages for nearly a month without any significant rebuttal from either Ballinger or Taft.[32] By late August, the Washington

Post had received a complete copy of the Glavis charges leaked from the Forest Service, as well as leaked copies of various General Land Office files. The editor of the Post, which supported Taft, wrote to the President that the newspaper had received the information and felt compelled to run a story.[33]

Taft himself fanned the furor in the press by agreeing to meet personally with Glavis at Beverly. The President's involvement immediately made the controversy more newsworthy. Taft then refused to make a public -- or private -- statement to the correspondents refuting the charges against Ballinger. Instead, the President's only visible response -- to summon Ballinger from the West to respond to the Glavis charges -- seemed to further dramatize the seriousness of the allegations. Left without the president's guidance, even the pro-administration Washington Post reported that the charges were "of a much more serious nature than at first intimated."[34]

Not only did Taft refuse to respond publicly to the charges, neither he nor his staff supplied the correspondents with the kind of advice on how to shape their stories that was always available in the Roosevelt White House. For nearly three weeks after Taft met with Glavis, the newspapers in Washington, D.C., and New York filled their front pages with repetitions of the Glavis charges and rambling speculations about what was going on in the Taft administration. Daily stories traced Ballinger's hurried train trip from Seattle to Washington, D.C., where he was met by a crowd of reporters. Ballinger, following Taft's instructions, also refused to speak with the press, other than to remark, somewhat enigmatically, that "incidentally, I plan to kill some snakes."[35] Three days later, more reporters took the train to Beverly with Ballinger to be nearby when the Secretary personally delivered his response to Taft. After weeks of repetition without rebuttal, the Glavis charges had been so widely accepted by the correspondents that the Republican Chicago Tribune referred to Taft's "subpoena" of Ballinger.[36]

At Beverly, Taft met with Ballinger but, again, provided no public statement or private guidance, which prompted another week of newspaper speculation. The President then left on his western speaking tour. Finally, after leaving Ballinger to suffer a month of unanswered allegations in the press, Taft allowed his staff to hand the correspondents traveling with him a letter that declared the Glavis charges unfounded.[37] The resulting newspaper stories, based on reports telegraphed from the railway station at Albany, New York, were widely displayed. Some of the Washington, D.C., newspapers turned over their entire front pages to Taft's belated response.[38] But Ballinger's reputation -- and Taft's -- had been damaged by the weeks of newspaper speculation.

Taft's statement, however belated, helped to take the story off the front pages by mid-October 1909. The newspaper frenzy was over, at least temporarily. Some of the leading correspondents had left Washington, D.C., to travel West with Taft and to write instead about the President's speaking tour.[39]

However, at the Forest Service, Pinchot's assistants had helped Glavis to shape his allegations into an article accepted for publication by the leading muckraking magazine, Collier's Weekly.[40] When the article appeared in the magazine's 13 November 1909 issue, its dramatic presentation re-ignited the controversy. The text of the Collier's Weekly story was cautiously worded, but the headline on the magazine's front cover asked: "Are the Guggenheim's in Charge of the Department of the Interior?" Inside, the story was headlined, "The Whitewashing of Ballinger." Following the lead of Collier's Weekly, other muckraking magazines published similar articles, prompting calls for a congressional investigation.[41]

From the earliest stages of the Glavis controversy, the primary sources of the leaks to the correspondents were well known in Washington, D.C., and inside the Taft administration. When the allegations of personal corruption against Ballinger first appeared, in mid-August, the New York World, which claimed the "first authorized interview" on the story, identified Price of the Forest Service as the source.[42] Lawler, the Interior Department assistant attorney general, had repeatedly warned both Ballinger and George Wickersham, Taft's attorney general, about the Forest Service press bureau.[43] Ballinger sent a similar written complaint directly to Taft arguing that the newspaper stories reflected badly on the President as well as himself.[44] In addition, Walter E. Clark wrote that he told Taft personally about the source of the leaks and watched while the President took notes.[45]

These sources and Taft's own correspondence indicate that the President was aware of the campaign of leaks against Ballinger, and that he knew where the leaks were coming from. Yet Taft chose not to reply publicly to the charges, and he ordered Ballinger to do the same. This policy of nonpublicity was adopted partly because Taft did not want to force the resignation of Pinchot, who was an important link to Roosevelt and his followers. But it is also apparent from Taft's letters and the records of other observers that Taft sincerely believed that it was undignified and unnecessary for a President to involve himself in publicity.

Taft first tried to minimize the conflict as a misunderstanding between Ballinger and Pinchot.[46] When the editor of the Washington Post appealed to him for help in rebutting the Glavis charges, Taft declined to respond publicly on the grounds that any statement would be misunderstood. Privately, however, he deplored the use of "advertising methods and unfounded statements to create an impression of bitterness that has no reason for existence."[47]

As the stories continued, Taft complained privately that "there is too much of a disposition to charge people with bad faith, and too great encouragement to newspaper controversy," but he declined to reply publicly or to chastise Pinchot.[48] Taft only reluctantly released to the correspondents the 13 September letter dismissing the Glavis charges. At the same time, he again urged Ballinger to keep silent and to keep Pinchot's name out of the controversy.[49] Taft then tried to appease Pinchot in a letter that referred only obliquely to the publicity campaign. He wrote only that he was somewhat concerned by the controversy, and that he hoped there would be less official leaking to the press.[50]

Taft was warned in advance about the muckraking Collier's Weekly article. But he seemed unable to take it seriously or to comprehend its likely impact on public opinion. Taft replied to Attorney General Wickersham's warning by writing that: "... I feel as if we may exaggerate the importance of the paper's attitude." Pinchot, Taft acknowledged, "is at the bottom of the Collier's action, and at the bottom of a good many other attacks. That will come out eventually; and the injustice of the attacks will aid in showing the necessity for the action that I fear we must take in time. I shall be glad to have your analysis whenever it is ready, but there is no particular hurry."[51]

Taft also seemed unconcerned in a letter to his brother, Horace. He wrote: "I have been advised of some attack on Ballinger in Collier's, but I am rather disposed to think that their attitude is hardly judicial, and that they are mistaking for evidence what is more assumption by enthusiasts who in the interest of their cause seize upon shreds of suspicion that would have no weight to a man used to a man to weighing evidence." Making no mention of his order to Ballinger to remain silent, Taft went on to criticize Ballinger for being overly sensitive and for taking "but little means to defend himself."[52]

Although deeply hurt by the critical newspaper stories, Ballinger loyally defended the President's order not to respond. In a letter to E.F. Baldwin, Ballinger wrote: "Standing securely on my conscious rectitude, the efforts of newspaper correspondents to impugn my motives and the integrity of my acts will ultimately be shown to be absolutely groundless."[53] Writing to an ally, Erastus Brainerd of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Ballinger said that "as they can find nothing worthy of criticism that will stand the light of investigation, I am not giving any serious concern to these articles, for I believe that the future will make everything plain and show who the instigators are."[54]

In November, Ballinger discouraged Brainerd's offer to stage a rally at which Collier's Weekly would be denounced. He wrote: "This is a state of mind that only time can correct, and it is not to be corrected by public clamor, in my opinion."[55] In December 1909, after three months of mostly unanswered charges against him in newspaper and magazine stories, Ballinger wrote to another editor that: "I have felt so thoroughly conscious of the justice of my position in all these matters and of the justice and unfairness of criticisms emanating from certain sources that I have felt assured that the public would ultimately understand the truth without the necessity of my entering upon a campaign of publicity. I have always believed in and adopted the course of nonpublicity in my private as well as my official life, endeavoring to justify my course by the results accomplished."[56]

Ballinger's supporters grew increasingly angry at the lack of public support from Taft. After weeks of reading about the Glavis charges, Ormsby McHarg, a Commerce Department official and friend of Ballinger, called his own news conference to make intemperate remarks about Pinchot, Roosevelt, and Roosevelt's conservation policies. The outburst, which was widely reported, cost McHarg his job.[57]

The McHarg incident also prompted the newspaper correspondents to complain publicly about Taft's silence and the lack of presidential guidance. The Chicago Record-Herald, a Republican paper, said it was time for Taft to speak up and to defend Ballinger.[58] The Washington Star commented that Taft's policy of silence was difficult to understand, since Pinchot's publicity campaign against Ballinger was well known. The Star's correspondent wrote that "The administration's end of the controversy appears to be somewhat hampered, either by a sense of official dignity or ethical backwardness at tooting its own horn, markedly at variance with the good Roosevelt methods and days, so nothing is coming out from departmental sources ... ."[59]

In January 1910, Taft was forced to fire Pinchot after the chief forester sent a letter to the Senate that revealed the involvement of his subordinates, Price and Shaw, in the publicity campaign against Ballinger.[60] In the subsequent Senate investigation of the controversy, both the President and Ballinger were hoping to be vindicated by the Republican majority.[61] But again, Taft remained silent during the hearings while Pinchot and his supporters cultivated the press.[62]

Taft was indignant at Pinchot's continuing publicity activities but, as before, seemed to be at a loss whether -- or how -- to respond publicly. In a letter to his brother Horace, he complained: "The investigation goes on, and highly moral people like our friends Pinchot and Garfield are engaged in a publicity bureau by which they circulate fantastic and wild statements made by a witness who will say almost anything founded on hearsay or even less. They have a man here who makes a short statement of the evidence of the unfairest character, and then gives it out to the newspapers. But we are living in an age of supreme hypocrisy, when the man who can yell the loudest against corruption in general has the advantage and the man who has the responsibility of affirmative action is at a disadvantage."[63]

Taft remained steadfast in refusing to resort to publicity techniques but Ballinger had suffered enough. With neither the Senate hearings nor the press coverage helping to restore his reputation, Ballinger reluctantly accepted the advice of his supporters to hire a publicist.[64] But by the time Ballinger appeared to testify before the investigating committee, in late spring, the newspapers were tired of the story, and his testimony in his own defense drew little coverage.[65]

The Senate committee eventually cleared Ballinger of wrongdoing but Pinchot was the uncontested winner of the publicity war.[66] Ballinger's career was destroyed, and Taft's presidency was deeply damaged.[67] Not only had Taft been forced to fire Pinchot and thereby to alienate the Roosevelt progressives, the President shown himself ineffective in defending a member of his Cabinet -- or himself -- against Pinchot's publicity campaign. In a description echoed by other correspondents, Samuel G. Blythe of the New York World remarked that, after one year in the White House, Taft had become a "stranded whale."[68] In retrospect, historian George Juergens described Taft as one of the most vilified presidents of the twentieth century.[69]

In May 1910, Taft replaced his Secretary, Carpenter, and began to experiment with some of the techniques of presidential persuasion used by Roosevelt, such as occasional interviews and formal news conferences. But his underlying reluctance to use the techniques of publicity did not change, and his presidency never recovered from the disastrous first year.[70] Roosevelt, dismayed over the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and Taft's inept handling of other issues, decided to run again for President in 1912 and ended whatever chances Taft had of achieving re-election.

The implications of Taft's disastrous first year go beyond the election of 1912. The consequences of Taft's policy of nonpublicity indicate that the expectations of both presidential leadership and political journalism had changed profoundly in the first years of the century. Under the new relationship established between the President and the press between 1897 to 1909, the chief executive was now regarded as intrinsically newsworthy and could usually rely on a White House press corps to transmit his appeals for public support.

But the President's new opportunity to create and to shape his press coverage had been shown to be a two-edged sword. To maintain the benefits of the relationship, the President was now expected to produce and to interpret news on a regular basis for the press corps that had formed to receive and to distribute it. When those expectations were not meant, the correspondents would turn to whatever other sources were available, including the President's critics, to keep writing stories about the presidency. The lesson was not lost on President Woodrow Wilson and his Secretary, Joe Tumulty, who in 1913 instituted regular press conferences and other publicity practices to keep the White House correspondents well supplied with stories about the new administration.

1.Taft was elected in 1908 with the strong support of his Republican sponsor, Theodore Roosevelt, but in 1912, Taft ran a distant third in the popular vote behind Democrat Woodrow Wilson. Roosevelt had become disenchanted with his onetime protege and ran against him as an independent reform candidate. See, generally, George E. Mowry, "Election of 1912," in Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., ed., History of American Presidential Elections, 1798-1968 (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), Vol. III, 2135-2242.

2.Numerous historians and political scientists have credited --or blamed -- Theodore Roosevelt for demonstrating how modern presidents could lead public opinion by managing their press coverage. See, for example, Elmer E. Cornwell Jr., Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979 <1965>, 13-15, 27-28; George Juergens, News from the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 14-90, and Rodger Streitmatter, "Theodore Roosevelt: Public Relations Pioneer," American Journalism (Spring 1990), 96-113. Other scholars argue that Roosevelt did not originate presidential publicity in the modern era but instead used it to extend a revival of executive power already under way in the late nineteenth century. See Lewis Gould, The Presidency of William McKinley (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1980), Robert C. Hilderbrand, Power and the People: Executive Management of Public Opinion in Foreign Affairs, 1897-1921 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), and the author's "The President Makes News: William McKinley and the First White House Press Corps, 1897-1901," in press, Presidential Studies Quarterly.

3.For descriptions of Taft's view of the press, see Hilderbrand, Power and the People, 76-77; Juergens, News from the White House, 91-125, and, more generally, James E. Pollard, The Presidents and the Press (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 601-629, and John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts, The Press and the Presidency (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 349-363. Henry F. Pringle, whose two-volume The Life and Times of William Howard Taft (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939), remains the most extensive biography of Taft, argued that "Taft's ultimate defeat was caused, in no small measure, by these repeated incessant headlines which, try as he might, he could not guide or control." See Pringle, Vol. I, 415. Taft's most recent presidential biographers are Paolo E. Coletta, The Presidency of William Howard Taft (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1973), and Donald E. Anderson, William Howard Taft: A Conservative's Conception of the Presidency (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973).

4.George Kibbe Turner, "How Taft Views His Own Administration," McClure's Magazine 35:2 (June 1910), 221.

5.Ballinger used the term in a letter to William Hutchinson Cowles, 9 December 1909, Roll 3, Richard Achilles Ballinger Papers in microfilm, University of Washington.

6.The assumption that the absence of a phenomenon can be as indicative in historical inquiry as its presence is discussed by Richard Lentz, "The Search for Strategic Silence: Discovering What Journalism Leaves Out," American Journalism, Winter 1991, 10-26.

7.In preparing this case study, the author reviewed published works on Taft's presidency; the 1909-1910 correspondence of Taft and other participants in the Ballinger-Pinchot affair; records of the congressional investigation; reminisces and diaries of prominent correspondents and officials, and a selection of newspaper and magazine articles between June 1909 and May 1910.

8.Criteria of the organizational relationship are adapted from those used by Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar in Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 19-36.

9.The quotation is from Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 28 March 1909, Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930), Vol. I:28-32.

10.One Roosevelt favorite, Richard V. Oulahan, then of the New York Sun, found that "ten minutes of conversation with President Roosevelt usually gave me more material for my press dispatches than longer interviews with each of a half dozen principal officers of government." See Oulahan, "Presidents and Publicity," p. 4, from unpublished memoirs, Box 1, Oulahan Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library. Gilson Gardner of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, whose employer, E.W. Scripps, supported Roosevelt, said that months went by when he "had no duties except to keep in touch with Roosevelt and help on his political purposes." See Gardner, Lusty Scripps: The Life of E.W. Scripps (New York: Vanguard Press, 1932), 185.

11.Edward G. Lowry, "The White House Now," Harper's Weekly 53 (15 May 1909), 7.

12.Arthur Wallace Dunn of the Associated Press described Carpenter as "a self-effacing, patient, painstaking little man. ... He had been with Taft for many years, and had learned that the most pleasing service he could render his chief was to keep people away from him." See Dunn, From Harrison to Harding (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), Vol.2: 101-103.

13.Taft to William Allen White, 20 March 1909, reprinted in White, The Autobiography of William Allen White (New York: Macmillan, 1946), 451.

14.See, for example, "Conservatism: The New Watchword at Washington Concerning White House News," Editor and Publisher 8:39 (27 March 1909), 1.

15.Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 22 March 1909, in Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Vol. 1: 26-27.

16."Taft -- So Far," American Magazine 68:3 (July 1909), 308.

17."Press Censorship: Established De Facto at Washington by the Taft Cabinet," Editor and Publisher 8:41 (10 April 1909), 1.

18.Walter E. Clark to Erastus Brainerd, 3 July 1909, Erastus Brainerd Papers, University of Washington.

19.Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 23 November 1909, in Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Vol. 1:218-219.

20.Dunn, From Harrison to Harding, Vol. 2, 109-112. Archie Butt's diary is more favorable to Taft, but he noted that Taft complained about "the sacrifice of dignity." See Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 4 July 1909, Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Vol. 1, 134-135.

21.George Kibbe Turner, "Manufacturing Public Opinion: The New Art of Making Presidents by Press Bureau," McClure's Magazine 39 (July 1912), 316-327, described Roosevelt and Pinchot as the two most talented publicity men in American politics. For a description of the conservation crusade, see the author's "Federal News Management in the Progressive Era," Journalism History 13:2 (Summer 1986), 42-48.

22.Underlying the Ballinger-Pinchot conflict was a substantive disagreement over how federal authority should be used to manage natural resources on public lands. Roosevelt, acting in concert with Pinchot and his Secretary of Interior, James R. Garfield, had created a government conservation "movement" that overlapped statutory and bureaucratic boundaries. As part of his creative interpretation of presidential authority, Roosevelt issued executive orders that withdrew from commercial development millions of acres of public land on which there were timber, mineral, water power and other resources. Taft, however, was less enthusiastic about restricting commercial development on public lands, and he also was concerned about the extralegal means that Roosevelt used to withdraw land from development. He did not reappoint Garfield as Secretary of Interior. Instead, he chose Ballinger, who shared Taft's conservative views on conservation and the constitutional limitations of executive authority. After taking office in the spring of 1909, Ballinger began to challenge the legality of the Roosevelt land withdrawals and to open some of the areas involved to commercial development. For a comprehensive discussion of the controversy, see James Penick Jr., Progressive Politics and

Conservation: The Ballinger-Pinchot Affair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

23.Roosevelt's vigorous pursuit of leakers -- and Taft's seeming unconcern -- were described by Archie Butt to Mrs. Lewis F.B. Butt, 28 March 1909, in Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt, Vol. 1:28-32.

24.See correspondence between Ballinger and Baldwin, 7 May 1909 and 10 May 1909, Roll 2, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

25.Ballinger did not fire Newell but he reportedly considered replacing him with R.H. Thomson, the city engineer of Seattle, where Ballinger had been mayor. See "Ballinger is Here for Thomson," Seattle Times, 14 July 1909. For examples of the following newspaper and magazine coverage, see the scrapbooks for July and August 1909, Roll 12, the Ballinger papers in microfilm.

26.Clark to Ballinger, 1 August 1909, Box 4, Ballinger Papers.

27.In scrapbooks in the Ballinger Papers, see stories on 9 August 1909 and 10 August 1910 from numerous daily newspapers, including the Washington, D.C., Times, Baltimore World, and the Christian Science Monitor. The United Press story, although widely used and damaging to Ballinger, was wildly overstated, according to the subsequent congressional investigation. Only 158 acres of land was involved, not 15,000. See U.S. Senate, 61st Cong., 3rd sess., S. Doc. 719 (Serial 5892), Investigation of the Department of Interior and of the Bureau of Forestry, Vol. 1:77.

28.For the speeches, see Arthur Hooker, ed., Proceedings of the 17th National Irrigation Congress (Spokane, Washington: Shaw and Borden, 1910). For the extensive news coverage of the conference, see the Washington Times, 10 August 1909, among others, in clippings, Ballinger Papers. The timing of the United Press story was not coincidental. Oscar Lawler, assistant attorney general for the Interior Department, told Ballinger the story was widely discussed in Washington, D.C., before it was transmitted. It had been written in Washington rather than in Helena, Montana, the story's dateline. The United Press correspondent, Samuel M. Evans, was among those who had traveled to Spokane for the Irrigation Conference. Evans was known to be an acquaintance of Pinchot, who had a quite pleasant meeting with the owner of United Press, E.W. Scripps, three weeks after the story appeared. See Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 107-110. Oscar Lawler to Ballinger, 11 August 1909 and 13 August 1909, Roll 5, Ballinger Papers in microfilm. Seattle Star, 10 August 1909. For evidence of Pinchot's ties with Scripps, see E.W. Scripps to Pinchot, 10 June 1908 and 3 July 1908, as well as Scripps to E.W. Porterfield, 7 September 1909, in Boxes 11 and 12, E.W. Scripps Papers, Ohio University. See also Pinchot's boastful letter to his mother about the meeting, which described Scripps pointedly as the "second largest owner of newspapers in the United States." Pinchot to Mary E. Pinchot, 6 September 1909, Box 10, Gifford Pinchot Papers, Library of Congress.28.

29.Although the publicizing of the Glavis charges destroyed Ballinger's career, no convincing evidence of his personal corruption was found during the Senate investigation. Ballinger had, however, improperly taken Cunningham as a law client shortly after resigning as Commissioner of the General Land Office in 1908. For discussions of the coal claims issue, see Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 77-106, and Coletta, The Presidency of William Howard Taft, 77-100.

30.For a chronology of events, see Investigation, Vol. 1: 47-49.

31.Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 112-114. The quotation is from Pinchot to Taft, 10 August 1909, copy in Roll 8, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

32.See clippings in the Washington, D.C., Post, Chicago Tribune and other major newspapers, beginning 13 August 1909. Some of the banner headlines: "Ballinger's Foes Disclose Plans," Chicago Tribune, 14 August 1909; "Startling Developments May Be Expected at Any Time," Washington Post, 15 August 1909; "Pinchot to Fight it Out With Ballinger," New York World, 17 August 1909. All are from Roll 12, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

33.For accounts of the leak of documents to the Post, see Fred Dennett to Taft, 4 September 1909, reprinted in Investigation, Vol. 2:109-110, and H.H. Schwartz to Ballinger, 1 September 1909, Investigation, Vol. 2:264-267. For Taft's reply to the Post, see Taft to Ira E. Bennett, 27 August 1909, William Howard Taft Papers, Library of Congress.

34.Taft to Ballinger, 22 August 1909, Taft Papers. The quotation is from "Glavis, in Report, Accuses Chief," Washington Post, 25 August 1909. See also the Washington Star, New York Times, and the Washington Times of the same date.

35.The quotation appeared in the New York Times and the Chicago Record-Herald, among others, 4 September 1909.

36."Ballinger Heeds Taft's Subpoena," Chicago Tribune, 6 September 1909.

37.For the letter of vindication, see Taft to Ballinger 13 September 1909, Ballinger Papers. A handwritten postscript suggests that releasing it to the press was something of an afterthought.

38.See, for example, "Taft, in Most Sweeping Decision, Upholds Ballinger," Washington Herald, 16 September 1909.

39.On his western trip, Taft created new gaffes that helped to push the Ballinger story off the front pages. At Winona, Minnesota, delivering a hastily-prepared speech, Taft praised the unpopular Payne-Aldrich tariff as "the best bill that the Republican Party ever passed." Lacking an advance text, the nine correspondents traveling with the president seized on the phrase for their telegraphed dispatches. For a discussion of the tariff debate and the Winona speech, see Coletta, The Presidency of William Howard Taft, 45-75. O.K. Davis, whose stories in the New York Times about the speech and its aftermath infuriated the President, described the correspondents' predicament in his autobiography. See Davis, Released for Publication (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), 176-178.

40.Norman Hapgood, The Changing Years (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930), 183.

41.Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 129-130, summarizes the major magazine articles. See also clippings, Ballinger papers.

42.In a remarkable letter to Pinchot on 5 January 1910, Price and Shaw described the publicity campaign in detail and took full responsibility for it. The letter is reprinted in Investigation, Vol. 4:1275-1279. For the published reference to Price, see "Pinchot to Fight it out with Ballinger," New York World, 17 August 1909. After Pinchot's firing in early 1910, both Price and Shaw were punished professionally by Taft's supporters, and Price later committed suicide. Shaw tried to transfer to the General Land Office but was not allowed to practice law in the Interior Department. In 1913, an old school friend of Shaw's, Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, appealed to Woodrow Wilson's appointee as Secretary of Interior, Franklin K. Lane, to reinstate him. See the entry for 23 March 1913, The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921, E. David Cronon, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 12.

43.See correspondence from Lawler to Ballinger, 13 August, 14 August, 19 August and 21 August 1909, Roll 5, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

44.Ballinger to Taft, 15 August 1909, Taft papers, and Ballinger to Taft, 4 September 1909, Roll 8, Ballinger papers in microfilm.

45.Walter E. Clark to Ballinger, 11 September 1909, Roll 3, Ballinger papers in microfilm.

46.The pro-administration New York Evening Telegram reported that Taft did not want to become involved in the controversy and that Ballinger could take care of himself. See "Taft May Let Them Fight It Out," 12 August 1909, Ballinger scrapbooks. See also Taft to E.F. Baldwin, 13 August 1909, Taft Papers.

47.Taft to Ira E. Bennett, 27 August 1909. See also Taft to Nicholas Longworth, 30 August 1909. Both are in the Taft papers.

48.The quotation is from Taft to James Wilson, the Secretary of Agriculture, 31 August 1909, Taft Papers.

49.Taft to Ballinger, 13 September 1909.

50.Taft to Pinchot, 13 September 1909. Privately, Taft described Pinchot as a "fanatic," with a "publicity machine" in his agency, and someone whose supporters were willing to make reckless statements against Ballinger. The quotations are from Taft to Lawrence Abbott, 31 August 1909. Taft made similar remarks in a letter to Charles Nagel, his Secretary of Commerce and Labor, 1 September 1909. All are in the Taft Papers.

51.Taft to George Wickersham, 7 October 1909. Privately, however, Taft was seething. He wrote to his wife, Nellie, that "Pinchot has spread a virus against Ballinger widely, and used the publicity department of his bureau for the purpose. He would deny it, but I see traces in his talks with many newspapermen on the subject; who assume Ballinger's guilt, and having convicted him treated any evidence that he is a man of strength as utterly to be disregarded." Taft to Mrs. William Howard Taft, 15 October 1909. Both are in Taft Papers.

52.Taft to Horace D. Taft, 18 October 1909, Taft Papers.

53.Ballinger to E.F. Baldwin, 25 August 1909, Roll 2, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

54.Ballinger to Erastus Brainerd, 25 August 1909, Roll 2, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

55.Ballinger to Erastus Brainerd, 17 November 1909, Roll 2, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

56.Ballinger to William Hutchinson Cowles, 9 December 1909, Roll 3, Ballinger Papers.

57.See stories in the Washington Post, Washington Times, and the Washington Star, among others, on 28 and 29 August 1909.

58.Chicago Record-Herald, 30 August 1909.

59."Warfare of Policies," Washington Star, 19 August 1909.

60.Pinchot to Jonathan Dolliver, 5 January 1910, reprinted in Investigation, Vol. 4:1281-1285. Ironically, Taft's firing of Pinchot drew press coverage away from a formal finding by Attorney General Wickersham that the Glavis charges were unfounded. See clippings, Roll 12, Ballinger Papers in microfilm.

61."Ballinger Will Get Full Inquiry," Portland Oregonian, 21 December 1909.

62.Besides widely distributing copies of his testimony, Pinchot and his brother, Amos, published a press guide to the hearings, which included a summary of the testimony against Ballinger, selections from Pinchot's remarks, and a digest of the proceedings. For Pinchot's role in the hearings, see Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 151-52, and M. Nelson McGeary, Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 165-173.

63.The quotation is from Taft to Horace D. Taft, 1 February 1910, Taft Papers.

64.Ormsby McHarg advised Ballinger on 1 February 1910 to raise money for his defense and, "above all else, get somebody near you who can furnish some material to the press. Don't let the opposition offer testimony for a month and get the minds of the people so saturated with this question and its prejudicial features they will be too tired to read the other side." The quotation is from McHarg to Ballinger, Roll 6, Ballinger Papers in microfilm. Ashmun Brown, a correspondent for the New York Sun and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, wrote that Ballinger had approached him for the job. Brown wrote to Erastus Brainerd, 31 March 1910, that "He didn't call it press agenting, but that is what it is. He wanted someone to stick around the hearings and wise up the newspapermen as to the significance of the testimony." Brown declined the job but a correspondent for the New York Tribune agreed to help Ballinger. Brown later became Ballinger's chief assistant. See also Brown to Brainerd, 29 October 1910. Both are in Box 1, Brainerd Papers.

65.See "The Ballinger Inquiry: The President, Congress and Country are Very Tired of It," San Francisco Chronicle, 2 May 1910.

66.McGeary, Gifford Pinchot: Forester-Politician, 185-186.

67.Taft blundered one final time in the handling of the Ballinger-Pinchot affair when he abruptly announced Ballinger's resignation in March 1911. He consulted no one before announcing the resignation and then failed to notify other members of the Cabinet, who were then left to deny what the correspondents already knew. See Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 178-179.

68.The quotation is from Ashmun Brown to Erastus Brainerd, 11 March 1910, Box 1, Brainerd Papers.

69.Juergens, News from the White House, 92-94.

70.For Taft's actions from 1910 to 1912, see, generally, Hilderbrand, Power and the People, 78-81.

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THE RISE OF ERNEST POOLE:
THE MAKING OF A SOCIAL MUCKRAKER

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For presentation to History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1993 convention, Kansas City, Missouri, August 14, 1993.

ABSTRACT

THE RISE OF ERNEST POOLE: THE MAKING OF A SOCIAL MUCKRAKER

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Prepared for the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1993 Convention, Kansas City, Missouri, August 14, 1993

Parallel with the mainstream of muckraking, a distinct stream of social exposure--here called social muckraking--ran through the Progressive era. Its writers were frequently non-journalists involved with reform coalitions or settlement houses. Still, in dealing with magazines and newspapers, they adopted the approaches of journalists. This paper tells of the nurturing by reform coalitiions of young Ernest Poole of the University Settlement. Assigned in 1902 and 1903 to investigate children's street labor and tuberculosis in the tenements, he quickly developed reporting skills and a knack for stirring up publicity. His brief career as a social muckraker revealed his ready adaptation to the requirements of the marketplace, at a certain cost to the substance and breadth of reform.

THE RISE OF ERNEST POOLE: THE MAKING OF A SOCIAL MUCKRAKER

In the spring of 1902, the eminent John H. Finley, pausing to teach at Princeton in a career otherwise filled with editorships and college presidencies, wrote a note:

> My friend Mr. Poole hopes to be able to arrange to be in residence next year at the University Settlement House. It is a great pleasure to commend him to you. He is one our best Princeton men and, if you can receive him, will be an agreeable and helpful member of your group. I heartily hope that your numbers will allow this addition. I know no young man whom I can with more cordiality commend to you.[1]

Ernest Poole might have been startled to find himself described as one of the best, for his peers had done little in his four years on campus to make him think so. He had been turned down for the Princetonian newspaper staff, and blackballed by Cap and Gown until his roommate had lobbied him in; his musical-comedy librettos had been rejected by the Triangle Club. He had settled for such second-choice affiliations as the Mandolin Club (which also had rejected him at first), the American Whig Society, and Nassau Literary Magazine, which had printed his first, pallid short story. Ultimately, he was voted (or so he said in his memoirs) the "most useless man" in the class of 1902.[2]

Quiet, slight, and outwardly unaggressive, Poole was easy to underestimate. But he was far from witless or aimless. As he approached graduation, he not only ranked in the top quarter of his class--he had earned two A's from Woodrow Wilson, Princeton's president-elect--but he had begun to think of himself as a writer. He had read Tolstoy, Turgenev, Balzac, and Kipling, but was drawn even more to the new American social theorists and critics--Henry Demarest Lloyd, who had taken on Standard Oil, Henry George of the single tax, Edward Bellamy, who depicted a future socialist society in Looking Backward. Most of all, he admired the widely read work of the New York reporter Jacob Riis--the survey of urban poverty called How the Other Half Lives and, later, The Battle With the Slum. Yet he did not initially see himself as a reporter or social theorist but as a writer of fiction: "More and more tenement life appealed to me as a tremendous new field, scarcely touched by American writers yet."[3]

As graduation approached, Poole took the train up to New York several times, and was handed from interviewer to interviewer until he reached the University Settlement, at the intersection of Eldridge and Delancey on New York's congested Lower East Side. There he was accepted as a resident: that is, he was to live at the settlement house starting in the fall, after his graduation trip to Europe. A son of a prosperous Chicago family, he would not be paid, and in fact would be charged $8 a week for board and room.[4]

Near the end of September Poole presented himself at the University Settlement, once again a member of an incoming class. Within a year, he would be a name of sorts, a reporter-investigator fashioned out of a nonentity. Poole, in essence, was made, not born. It is too much to say that it could have been anybody, for Poole employed native persistence and a knack for telling stories, but it is hard to believe that he could have made his name on merit alone. This account, then, examines both Poole's work and the mechanisms that placed it in the public arena.

At the time Poole arrived at the University Settlement, magazines had just begun to offer what was originally known as the "literature of exposure"[5] and later, thanks to the Theodore Roosevelt's distaste for the genre, as muckraking. Mainstream muckraking, which exposed the underside of city and state government, of the trusts, and of the connections between the two, usually spoke in what Daniel T. Rodgers, in his stimulating essay, "In Search of Progressivism," has characterized as the voice of antimonopolism, of opposition to concentration and abuse of institutional power.[6] Rodgers also discerns, among other voices of that era, what he has called "the language of social bonds"--"a newly intense sympathy with what now seemed the innocent casualties of industrialism (women and child workers, the victims of industrial accidents, the involuntarily unemployed). . . "[7] This social language, translated into journalism, was the obverse of mainstream muckraking, less intent on unmasking those in power than in chronicling the miseries of the victims. Among its best-known practitioners were, for example, John Spargo (The Bitter Cry of the Children), William Hard (Injured in the Course of Duty), and Rheta Childe Dorr (What Eight Million Women Want). Louis Filler, the encyclopedist of muckraking, notes the existence of this kind of social exposure but considers it a mere aftershock, a milder form of muckraking after the great thunders of such as Steffens, Tarbell, and Baker. He gives it a place in Crusaders for American Liberalism, but it is a small place (thirty-five pages) near the back of the book.[8]

Yet so broad is this stream of exposure and so persistent that it cannot be considered merely a sub-genre of muckraking. Already plentiful before muckraking began, such work continued an older process--social investigation, publicity, exposure, and reform--that merged for a time into the muckraking stream and then continued on its own again after muckraking dried up.[9] Still, it is not inappropriate to refer to this kind of writing, as it existed when the two streams flowed together, as social muckraking.

Social muckraking differed from anti-corruption muckraking not only in emphasis but in origins. Most mainstream muckraking was developed by professional journalists; in Richard Hofstadter's words, muckrakers "were simply writers or reporters working on commission and eager to do well what was asked of them,"[10] Although magazines sometimes assigned mainstream muckrakers to do social muckraking--Ray Stannard Baker and Charles Edward Russell, for example, worked in both genres--a majority of the social muckrakers were outsiders, non-journalists with ties to reform movements rather than to journalism.

Moreover, methods and objectives differed. Mainstream muckrakers tended to avoid solutions, and Hofstadter, among others, credits them less with stimulating reform than with creating a new genre of realistic literature. The emerging professional ethos of journalism shunned the idea of journalist as activist; the proper role, muckrakers believed, was to alert public opinion and leave solutions to others.[11] But social muckraking was the reverse, customarily directed at a specific end, a carefully defined reform. Thus, it was journalism in the sense that it used the forms and techniques of magazine and newspaper journalism, but it was journalism employed tendentiously. Social muckraking can best be viewed as part of a process--a step in the life of reform coalitions when they are ready to go public, to use (again quoting Rodgers) "new methods of mobilizing public opinion. . . muckraking, the celebrity picket line, the forcing of an official witness-calling investigation, the launching of a referendum campaign . . . "[12]

Often such coalitions were spawned in the settlement houses, then in their heyday. These institutions--most of them now superseded by government social agencies--placed college graduates in the neighborhoods of the poor. The movement was born in the slums of London's East End, but was soon transported to America, where its most notable flowering was Hull-House, in Chicago. But the first American settlement house, which still survives, was the University Settlement on the Lower East Side of New York.[13]

The University Settlement took its character from James Bronson Reynolds, its head worker from 1894 to 1902. Under Reynolds, the settlement became a pioneer in social inquiry as a preliminary to reform, and generated a string of investigations of poverty, housing, and unemployment.[14] A new head worker, Robert Hunter of Chicago, promised to carry on the Reynolds tradition.[15] Hunter had in mind a more aggressive style of investigation than his predecessor's; he wanted to generate added force for his investigations by creating a stir in the general newspaper press and magazines. His first move to was to bring in a new set of residents, most of them laden with Midwestern origins and literary aspirations.[16] Among the newcomers was Poole.

Only a few weeks into Poole's residency, he found his career abruptly accelerated. Initially, he had been placed in such humble assignments as coaching basketball on the settlement roof. When Hunter saw how well he got along with his unruly pack of boys, he decided to send Poole into the street. Hunter had been tapped to head a new committee of settlement workers investigating child-labor abuses and lobbying for new state child-labor laws.[17] On the writing side, Hunter first turned to his most experienced hand, Leroy Scott, a former magazine editor, who produced a disappointing pamphlet. Hunter had something more dramatic in mind. He asked Poole to "work up a report" on the child laborers of the street--newsboys, messengers, bootblacks. Poole must have jumped at the chance, for his model, Jacob A. Riis, had written about the "Street Arab" a dozen years before in How the Other Half Lives.[18]

Poole set to work: "[F]or weeks I ranged the crowded quarters of the city, talking to wise tough little guys, liking them and making friends by giving them suppers and cigarettes and taking some of them to the big top gallery at the old Academy of Music." He remained calculating: "By such bribes I got the facts and stories I wanted about their jobs and their lives. In true reformer fashion [says the sixty-year-old Poole looking back condescendingly on Poole at twenty-two] then I centered on the worst ones, the toughest and the wildest, the hundreds down by City Hall near what was then still Newspaper Row." When he found that many boys worked in Chinatown, a few blocks east of City Hall, he persuaded a local undertaker to give him an escorted tour of "opium dives" where newsboys served as "messengers." (He even tried a little opium himself, in the interests of authenticity.)[19]

Back at the settlement, he wrote his notes into a report filled with "little yarns" that later turned up in the mailings the Child Labor Committee sent to newspapers statewide:

> David ____ was a newsboy at nine. He was an unusually bright, attractive little chap, and made $4 a week, though a large part of this was made with the dice. . . . At 13 he spent most of his nights on the streets. . . and during the coldest three months he slept in basements or in halls of tenements. . . . He had been 'put wise' to all the streets could teach. At 12 he contracted a loathsome venereal disease. Unnatural vice was common among his companions.[20]

The raw reports were so well received that Hunter urged him to take the next step, to write a magazine article. Poole had no idea how to shape his mass of anecdotes into something publishable. Scott obligingly took a day to teach him, and Poole spent two weeks sweating out a manuscript.[21]

He was now ready to step into a larger theater. He did not go completely unarmed, for the reform network extended into the magazine offices, and a settlement house itself was an excellent credential. So Poole had a presumption in his favor.[22] He played the settlement card at once by approaching Richard Watson Gilder, editor of The Century, the very magazine that had so often published Riis. Gilder had been one of the founders of the University Settlement Society and, more recently, one of fifty-two signers of a petition supporting child-labor reform, so he seemed a perfect prospect. But Gilder was also a tenacious guardian of editorial propriety, and The Century did not, when it could help it, discuss prostitution or venereal disease. Whatever the policy reason, Gilder rejected the article, telling Poole graciously that he could not offer timely publication.[23]

Poole turned then to a possibility that must have seemed remote, the very antithesis of the old Century--the vigorous, fresh, rising McClure's Magazine. S.S. McClure, as much salesman as editor, had started his monthly in the teeth of the 1893 depression and had whipped it forward on the strength of fresh journalism and popular series on such figures as Lincoln and Napoleon, interlarded with helpings of contemporary fiction. Now, at the end of 1902, it had started the era of muckraking by publishing Ida M. Tarbell's series, "The History of the Standard Oil Company," and was on the verge of the first installment of the Lincoln Steffens articles that were to be known collectively as "The Shame of the Cities." McClure's, in short, was big time. Poole left his manuscript at the magazine's offices on East Twenty-Third Street, off Madison Square, and went back to Chicago for Christmas.[24]

Three days after returning home, Poole heard twice from New York. A telegram came from The Century: Gilder, perhaps hearing the rumble of publicity gathering around Poole, had reconsidered and wanted the article. A letter from McClure came at the same time; with the letter was a check. When Poole hurried back to New York, he did not stop at the Century office at Union Square but went one notch uptown, to Madison Square and McClure's. But there he found that McClure was as worried as Gilder about discussing venereal diseases; Poole was shown an edited version of his article that eliminated all such references. Poole protested that the prevalence of disease among the newsboys was one of the major points of the campaign. McClure (according to Poole) said that references could remain if Poole could find a way to discuss the subject in a way that, in a room with "six grown-ups and six little girls," the adults would understand and the children would not. According to Poole's version, he managed the trick, and the article went on press.[25]

Now came a long wait, because McClure's scheduled the article to appear in the May 1903 issue, not out until April 15. In the meantime, Poole's name began to break the public surface, for his unpublished reports had become famous, even notorious. The January 12 New York Tribune announced: " . . . those who have seen Mr. Poole's report say it is startling. . . . Conditions are too shocking to print. . . " Charities magazine, the weekly that covered social-work organizations and the settlement movement, carried two pages of Poole's report at the end of a longer article on child labor. Late in January, his first byline appeared. It was in the New York Evening Post, over an article that started:

> The newsboy is forever restless. He works only when the crowds are thickest; he shapes all his habits to suit the changing, irregular life of the metropolis, and its like makes the life of his boyhood. Sometimes this spirit of the street gets into his blood, and he moulds his whole later existence into an unceasing passion for travel. In New York to-day there are some five thousand newsboys. Hundreds are homeless, and of these some are constantly wandering. . . but returning always, sooner or later, to what they think the greatest town on earth, to the home that taught them to be homeless.

If the style was a bit smooth for a novice, suggesting a few touches from rewrite, it was still characteristic of the quasi-literary mode into which Poole fell effortlessly. Another bonus fell into Poole's hands when the weekly Collier's bought a one-page article based on the report. Thinking perhaps that he was being accepted as a writer on his own rather than as an instrument of publicity, Poole sent out three short stories he had written over the holidays. All were promptly returned.[26]

In mid-April, his McClure's article, 5,000 words long, came out under the title "Waifs of the Street." It began by attacking the Horatio Alger legend--that street boys, schooled in industry and enterprise, rose high in life; instead, "[t]he homeless, the most illiterate, the most dishonest, the most impure--these are the finished products of street child work."

Yet the text reveals that what Poole retrospectively labeled a compromise on discussing venereal disease had turned out to be almost a total loss. All that was left was a single statement, on the seventh page of the article, that "among four hundred of these worst street workers eighty per cent. have loathsome diseases by [the age of] fifteen." Nothing else.[27]

Yet the article, unornamented, unafflicted with moralizing, must have seemed fresh and direct to the magazine's readers. Near its end, Poole wrote of visiting the streets near Newspaper Row where the newsboys slept:

> They lie in tangled heaps of two's and three's, over gratings, down steps, and under benches. Their faces are white, cold, unconscious--like the faces of dead children. . . . When the three o'clock papers come out, the sleepers begin to stir. . . . They stagger up, blue and shaking from the chill that comes before daybreak. And so begins the day.[28]

His first attempt at reporting had succeeded. In a magazine market glutted with articles deploring child labor,[29] he had made an impression by looking at the thing itself.

Poole was now a known. He went to Albany to testify on a bill regulating the street trades. While he was in the West recuperating from influenza, the child-labor committee's proposals made their way through the legislature and by May 7 four bills of varying stringency had been signed. In the meantime, the settlement workers' committee for which he had worked began to transform itself into a permanent body, the National Child Labor Committee. Poole was seen as part of these concrete results, and he must have fairly glowed if Hunter showed him (and he must certainly have done so) the letter in which he wrote that Poole had "done for the child labor agitation what Mr. Jacob A. Riis did for the tenement house agitation."[30]

Hunter's letter commended Poole's work to one of the dominant figures in the charity business, Robert W. de Forest, a Wall Street lawyer who, as Edmund Wilson once noted, "had his hand in all sorts of railroad, banking and charitable enterprises." De Forest was assembling a Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis under the aegis of the city's Charity Organization Society, of which he was, of course, president. Hunter had already talked to Poole about joining the committee, which was made up primarily of physicians, city officials, and charity potentates. Poole's assignment was clear--to make the kind of hubbub about tuberculosis what he had just made about children's street trades.[31]

Again, he had to find ways to dramatize an issue on which the spadework had been done by specialists and technicians. As an organized cause, the antituberculosis movement was comparatively new, but it had gained force when it converged with the already thriving anti-slum movement. Not only was there an apparent epidemiological link between congested housing and tuberculosis, but the union of the two efforts broadened the issue beyond its medical aspects, and permitted enlistments from the phalanx of social-minded reformers. Consequently, Poole's assignment proved to be as much an exposé of tenement conditions as an investigation of disease. It set him again in the footsteps of Riis, who had just published The Battle With the Slum.[32]

The strategy of exposure, apparently chosen for Poole by the committee, was to select from statistics a notorious tuberculosis site and go there to find the stories behind the records. The selected spot proved to be on the Lower East Side, about ten blocks south-southeast of the settlement house and not far from the East River. It lay in the Seventh Ward, which was neither the most densely settled nor the most tubercular in the city. The block had a large proportion of Irish among its nearly four thousand inhabitants, and the Irish had proved particularly vulnerable to the disease, second only to blacks. Lilian Brandt, a statistician-social worker who had exhaustively analyzed the statistics for the committee, concluded that the "physical constitutions" of the Irish were "weakened by excesses of all sorts on their own part and that of their parents." With such overtones of disparagement, she was following in the footsteps of Riis, who rarely hesitated to attribute weaknesses of character or heredity to ethnic groups. The selected block had already earned minor notoriety by being listed among sixteen "city wildernesses" in the 1900 tenement-house exhibit created by Lawrence Veiller, De Forest's associate.[33]

Poole went to the block, and to other sites, in several guises. He accompanied health and housing inspectors, then posed as a settlement visitor, and as a "fresh-air man," arranging, with the help of Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement, to send patients to recuperate in the country. Sometimes he tagged along with a medical student, Harry Lorber, who was seeking out and treating cases. Lorber and Poole found that the prevalence of the disease was perhaps double what the statistics showed. Part of the gap was denial by the victims, the urgent desire to go on working and living. But patients also feared loss of insurance or even euthanasia; over and over Poole heard of the fatal "black bottle" that doctors administered when they tired of treating a free patient. Coming in the guise of someone who could help--and in fact did help--opened the way for Poole to dozens of stories.

Day after day, Poole looked at the visages of imminent death. When he needed respite, he hung around in one of the block's grubby barrooms. At night, he came back his room at the settlement to write. His roommate, Fred King, older and a professional social worker, asked him why he did not really do something for the victims by becoming a social worker; Poole responded that he believed writing would do the job faster. He worked intensively through May, while Lorber kept him stoked on the supposedly immunizing diet of a quart of milk and six raw eggs every day.[34]

Poole's pamphlet-length article, running close to 10,000 words, showed his developing reporting skills. The chaotic, stifling tenements were described with precision, almost in technical terms:

> Their front room looks into a court five floors deep--a court so narrow that a short iron bridge connects the two roofs above it. The closet looks on an air-shaft. This shaft is two feet wide by fifty deep; foul with garbage, decayed refuse, old clothes, and filth. The dark closet has a window high up, small and grated, that the people across the shaft may not crawl in.[35]

He employed understatement:

> Soon after, a man of forty-three moved in. He slept in the same closet. One year later I find him reported. His disease was slow. He kept on for two years with his work. His work was handling fish in the market.[36]

He spun out story after story of families falling sick in cramped rooms where the bacillus supposedly lingered after killing the previous tenants[37]: the Italian father who struggled to work until he hemorrhaged and was carried home on a shutter to die; the 16-year-old factory girl who had "meant to be somebody": five-year-old Yutzi Romeo, whom Poole took to an uptown specialist and saved; seven-year-old Rosalie who died, wasted to a wraith. Although he did not have the temerity to include any victims from the most afflicted group, the blacks, his accounts were--aside from relatively mild references to Irish drinking--free from ethnic animus, and thus a departure from both Riis and Brandt.

But the key to the success, or at least the visibility, of the campaign was his larger strategy. In contrast with the muted, disturbing stories he told of individuals, he wrapped the whole in garish phrasemaking, not uninfluenced by yellow journalism. He adopted in his title and in the text the coined propaganda name for tuberculosis--the White Plague, or the

Plague, explicitly invoking the plague of the Middle Ages. In his memoirs, he looked back with embarrassment on his shrill invocations: "This Plague Consumption must be stamped out!"[38] He sought to arouse the apprehension of the uninterested by suggesting that items made in slum sweatshops went to the public infected. He used vivid, sensational names, which he said he picked up on the street, for individual buildings--"The Ink Pot," "The Bucket," "The Morgue."

He opened the essay with an anecdote that echoed thereafter through the literature of tuberculosis reform. It was a story, intended to symbolize the entire class of victims, but in fact it did not literally do so. The little tale came not from the infected block Poole had studied but from Clinton Street, well to the north, where he had ventured with Lorber; and not from one of the afflicted groups, but from Jews, who had proved most capable of resistance. Yet the story, or a phrase from the story, proved to be durable. He began the article:

> "Breath--breath--give me breath!" A Yiddish whisper, on a night in April, 1903, from the heart of the New York Ghetto.[39]

A few paragraphs farther into the story of the Jewish sweatshop worker who was dying within reach of his infant's cradle, Poole used the original language: "Luft--giebt mir luft!" He commented: "The new country had given him the Plague before it had given him the language."[40]

An even more telling publicity stroke was Poole's designation of the site of his study as the "Lung Block." Although the concocted name--in a later novel, Poole said that it was his own "invention"[41]--made little literal sense, it caught on. After Poole's pamphlet was published, he found himself giving reporters and photographers guided tours. When Charities magazine published a short version of his pamphlet, it was titled "'The Lung Block'." A year later, Everybody's Magazine appropriated several of Poole's photographs, without credit, and identified them simply as coming from the "Lung Block." The term stuck. Thirty years later, when the New Deal tore down the old tenements to put up public housing, the name was remembered and invoked. As recently as 1951, Joseph Mitchell noted in The Bottom of the Harbor the presence on an artificial ledge beneath the waters of Lower New York Bay of the rubble of the "ruins of the somber old red-brick houses in the Lung Block. . . " [42]

At the end of the summer of 1903, the reform forces started a campaign to destroy the Lung Block. They followed in Riis's tradition of replacing slums with parks and playgrounds. In the pages immediately following Poole's article in Charities, Lilian Brandt called for creation of a park from a slum block just north and west of the Lung Block; by the time there was a public hearing on the matter three weeks later, De Forest had shifted the site to the Lung Block itself. He argued that the Lung Block was bigger and the housing more noxious; clearly, he was riding on the publicity that Poole had generated. He avoided using the nickname in his presentation to the municipal Board of Estimate and Apportionment, but there was no mistaking the block's identity.[43]

This time, the campaign did not lead to instant results. Not only did the park proposal encounter the opposition both of landlords and of the Tammany Democratic organization, but Poole himself suffered a kind of retribution for his sloganeering. Early in June 1903, Dr. Lorber, who had continually checked on Poole's health, had found him running a slight fever every evening. Poole finished his writing and went home to Illinois to rest. Recuperated, he returned late in July. But, or so he recalled, he stayed away from the Lung Block--"No more disease and death for me!"[44]

Yet he could hardly have been unaware of what happened at the formal hearing on the Lung Block park in November. Poole did not testify, but the park proposal had a squad of proponents: Poole's fellow settlement resident J.G. Phelps Stokes, Lillian Wald, Dr. S.A. Knopf of the tuberculosis committee, Veiller of the Tenement House Department, the parks commissioner. The local Democratic alderman was opposed; he said that the shore of the East River provided adequate light and air. Then the opposition brought out a formidable parish priest, a Father Curry. He made the substantive point that the people of his parish needed homes, not parks. Veiller replied weakly that the displaced would be absorbed in surrounding blocks. Curry then spoke in the name of all those who are selected to be used for higher purposes--that he resented the name "Lung Block," that Poole's pamphlet had been an instance of the "reviling and abuse" heaped by "so-called philanthropists" on the poor, "whose only disgrace is their poverty." His fervor carried the day; the project was tabled. Indeed, it was tabled for thirty-one years; not until 1934 did a semi-public New Deal housing project replace the Lung Block's tenements.[45]

Poole, who had prided himself on his acceptance by the inhabitants of the Lung Block and on the help he had tried to give them, must have been wounded. But as is so often the case in memoirs, the most painful details are blurred or obviated. In 1940, Poole recalled merely that he became disillusioned and gave up reform. In fact, the break was less immediate and definitive than he suggested. True, he turned again to his original mission of writing tenement fiction; trading on the reputation he had won with his exposes he sold two stories, or sketches, to Everybody's Magazine. But he had not utterly given up on the Lung Block. On request, he supplied the Hearst organization a draft editorial, remarking that "it would seem too bad to stop now when success seems so near." For Charities he described a return visit with Dr. Lorber to 18 Clinton Street, where he found the brother of the man who had gasped out his life lying in the same bed and also dying.[46]

But without reform, and a reform coalition behind him, he was no longer a celebrity and he had to struggle to report, to write, to sell. What Poole perhaps did not recognize was that his exposé journalism had been more organizational than individual, and that once he was no longer hitched to a reform machine, he was again plain Ernest Poole, greenhorn writer in search of a subject. He was not long, though, in finding stimulating work back home in Chicago. In June 1904, he was drawn into the same packinghouse strike from which Upton Sinclair fashioned The Jungle. Poole lived in a tenement room near the stockyards for six weeks, writing for The Outlook, The Independent, and The World To-Day, a monthly magazine published at the University of Chicago; before the strike ended, he was also serving as press officer for the striking union's president.[47]

Late in 1904, he returned to the settlement house for the last time, and was living there at the time of "Bloody Sunday," January 22, 1905, when the Czar's troops shot down demonstrators in St. Petersburg. Within a week he was off to Russia, and his career thereafter was that of a free-lance, not a reformer. He succeeded as a magazine journalist and foreign correspondent, was a poor playwright, and performed unevenly as a novelist, outdoing himself just once, in The Harbor (1915), a book that was powerful to the extent that it drew upon the strengths of his journalism.

In the histories of muckraking, Poole is rightly given a distinctly minor place. Filler refers glancingly to his child-labor work and he is included in one of the two major anthologies of muckraking. Appropriately, he has been given more attention in histories of social problems, especially studies of tuberculosis.[48] Indeed, his work at the University Settlement is worth recalling primarily for what it reveals of the process by which reform coalitions pressed their case in the public arena.

Because Poole was a writer and story-teller by instinct rather than a reformer, and thus little interested in details of policy and legislation, he was a major help to policy-oriented reformers in marketing campaigns on child labor and tuberculosis. An apt enough student, he learned enough of the substance of the problems to write about them for the general reader. His strength was his ability to present clearly and precisely about what he actually observed. The reporting in The Plague in Its Stronghold is still compelling reading.

But it was perhaps less his reporting than the ease with which he packaged reform that made him useful. As a would-be young writer, avid to enter the marketplace, he instinctively made the compromises in tone and substance that needed to be made for the sake of publicity. In the child-labor article he all but failed in the one serious objective he had envisioned for the street-labor article, exposing the danger of venereal disease. In the tuberculosis campaign he was only belatedly aware of the stridency of his approach and the essential meaninglessness and condescension of his designation of the "Lung Block."

His was also a species of reform guaranteed to be palatable to the centrism or conservatism of magazines and newspapers. Mary Richmond, a Philadelphia social-work leader, approvingly called such campaigns the "retail method of reform"--that is, the targeting of one narrowly defined object of sympathy at a time until, presumably, all the objects were helped.[49] In the context of the time, even a hint that a particular reform was part of a larger or systemic problem was likely to lead to condemnation. In 1904, for example, Robert Hunter drew upon Poole's work in writing his landmark book, Poverty[50]. Although Poverty was not written from an explicitly socialist perspective, Richmond and other reviewers condemned Hunter's emphasis on social or industrial causes of poverty, which implied that the system was flawed. In his brief career as a retailer of reform, Poole carried out his tasks well enough; only later, when he gathered all his forces to write his one successful novel, The Harbor, did he draw broader inferences from what he had observed form a socialist perspective.[51]

Retail reform was characteristic of social muckraking, which may explain its continuance after the decline of mainstream muckraking, in which Theodore Roosevelt, among others, saw threatening implications. But multitudes of articles on child labor, on disease, the slums, and, later, race and prostitution were a staple of magazines until the time that much of the reform agenda was incorporated in Roosevelt's own Progressive campaign of 1912. In this sustained effort, Poole played a small but useful part; comparably, the reform coalitions gave a brief but useful impetus to Poole's career.

NOTES

[1] Finley to "The Head of the University Settlement," n.d., box 17, University Settlement papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[2] Truman Frederick Keefer,"The Literary Career and Literary Productions of Ernest Poole, American Novelist"(dissertation, Duke University, 1961, University Microfilms 61-1443), pp. 25-33; Ernest Poole, The Bridge: My Own Story (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. 56.

[3] Keefer, "Literary Career. . . of Ernest Poole," pp. 34-39; Keefer, Ernest Poole (New York: Twayne, 1966), p.11; The Bridge, p. 66.

[4] Poole to Hunter, June 1, July 20, 1902, box 17, University Settlement papers; The Bridge, p. 66.

[5] The earliest use of the phrase I have found is in George W. Alger, "The Literature of Exposure," Atlantic Monthly, 96 (August 1905), 210-13.

[6] Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," Reviews in American History, 10 (December 1982), 113-32, especially pp. 122-27. On the character of mainstream muckraking, see Richard L. McCormick, "The Discovery that Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," American Historical Review, 86 (April 1981), 247-74.

[7] "In Search of Progressivism," 124-25.

[8] Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (Yellow Springs: The Antioch Press, 1964; first published in 1939), pp. 260-95.

[9] See hundreds of references in Robert H. Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 1956).

[10] Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Random House, 1955), p. 194.

[11] Age of Reform, pp. 196-200; McCormick, "Discovery," 272. Note Alfred Kazin's acerb remark that "the nature of the

capitalist state remained as mysterious and inscrutable to them as Melville's white whale." On Native Grounds (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956; first published in 1942), p. 82.

[12] The magazine article database I have compiled from the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, 1900-1914, and other sources, contains 3,500 items relating to social issues and conditions, and these generalizations are drawn from it. Rodgers, p. 117.

[13] The growth of the settlement movement is described in Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); and Mina Carson, Settlement Folk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[14] On Reynolds, see John J. Carey's article in Walter I. Trattner, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 620-22. See also Albert J. Kennedy, "The Settlement Method," typescript in box 1, supplement, Albert J. Kennedy papers, Social Welfare History Archives, University of Minnesota, pp. 146-200; and Lillian Betts, "New York's Social Settlements," The Outlook, 51 (April 27, 1895), 684-85.

[15] On Hunter's career, see Melvyn Dubofsky's article in Dictionary of American Biography, and Peter d'A. Jones's introduction to Hunter's Poverty (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), pp. vi-xxiv.

[16] In his study of the settlements, Spearheads for Reform, Allen Davis refers to that University Settlement class of 1902-1905 as "what must have been one of the most remarkable collections of young reformers and writers ever assembled." p. 99. Others who came to the settlement in Poole's era included William English Walling, Walter Weyl, Arthur Bullard, Leroy Scott, and Howard Brubaker, all of whom became writers.

[17] Albert J. Kennedy notes from Hunter memoirs; Hunter to V. Everit Macy, May 14, 1902; both in box 8, University Settlement papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. See also Josephine C. Goldmark, Impatient Crusader [a biography of Florence Kelley] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953), pp. 81-83.

[18] Child Labor Committee Report, 1902, box 8, University Settlement papers; The Bridge, p. 68. See also Jeremy P. Felt, Hostages of Fortune: Child Labor Reform in New York State (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965), p. 41.

[19] The Bridge, pp. 68-69.

[20] From press material in New York Child Labor Committee records, New York State Library, quoted in Felt, Hostages of Fortune, p. 48.

[21] The Bridge, pp. 69-70.

[22] On the literary marketplace of the time, see Christopher P. Wilson, The Labor of Words (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 14-16, 196-97.

[23] The Bridge, pp. 69-70; Arthur John, The Best Years of the Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), especially chapter 12, "Loss of Preeminence," pp. 233-69; "Child Labor Reform in New York," Charities, 10 (January 10, 1903), 52-56.

[24] The Bridge, p. 70. On McClure's, see Harold S. Wilson, McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); and Peter Lyon, Success Story: The Life and Times of S.S. McClure (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963).

[25] The Bridge, pp. 69-70; Lyon, Success Story, pp. 253-54. The Poole papers contain a professionally typed manuscript, "Street Boy Article," which corresponds almost word for word to the version eventually published. The reader would assume that the manuscript contains the editing by McClure's, but it is not clear from this evidence whether this version was typed after Poole had the reference to venereal disease restored. It seems possible, given the circumstances, that he simply accepted the magazine's editing. The article as published is discussed below. The typescript is in the folder 1030, box 1, Poole papers, Baker Library, Dartmouth College. These papers are of limited use to a researcher, since they contain for the most part only the manuscripts of Poole's books, and almost none of his personal or professional correspondence.

[26] "Child Labor Reform in New York," Charities, 10 (January 10, 1903), 52-56; New York Tribune story of January 12, 1903, transcript in box 8, University Settlement papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Poole, "Newsboy Wanderers are Tramps in the Making," Charities, 10 (February 14, 1903), 160-62, credited as reprinted from the New York Evening Post, January 26, 1903; Poole, "The Little Arabs of the Night," Collier's, 30 (March 7, 1903), 11; Keefer, "The Literary Career . . . of Ernest Poole," p. 44.

[27] Poole, "Waifs of the Street," McClure's, 21 (May 1903), 40-48;

the reference to venereal diseases is on p. 47.

[28] Poole, "Waifs of the Street," 48. LeRoy Ashby, in Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children 1890-1917 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), quotes the article; see pp. 106, 115.

[29] Scribner's Monthly, Current Literature, The Independent, The Outlook, Charities, The Century, Gunton's Magazine, and McClure's all published articles on child labor in 1903 before Poole's article appeared. "Children of the Coal Shadow," by Frank H. Nichols, McClure's, 20 (February 1903), 435-44, was an early revelation of the life of the "breaker boys," who sorted coal in the anthracite mines. "Who Was Her Keeper?" by Mary Applewhite Bacon, in McClure's, 20 (April 1903), 661-66, is a fictionalized story of a child worker in a Southern mill.

[30] Felt, Hostages of Fortune, pp. 50-62, 74; Hunter to Robert W. De Forest, April 22, 1903, box 17, University Settlement papers.

[31] Hunter to De Forest, April 22, 1903, box 17, University Settlement papers. On De Forest, see Bremner, From the Depths, pp. 150-51; and Wilson, A Prelude (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1967). For membership of the committee, see A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis (New York: Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1903), iii.

[32] Hermann M. Biggs, "Tuberculosis in the Tenement-House," Charities, 6 (May 4, 1901), 377-85. See also Michael E. Teller, The Tuberculosis Movement (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 28-30, 100; Mark Caldwell, The Last Crusade (New York: Atheneum, 1988), pp.179-83; and Maury Klein and Harvey A. Kantor, Prisoners of Progress (New York: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 316-17.

[33] Lilian Brandt, "The Social Aspects of Tuberculosis Based on a Study of Statistics," in A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis (New York: Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1903) 29-115; quotation is on p. 88. On Veiller list, see "Lung Block or Park-Playground--Which?", Charities, 11 (10 October 1903), 335-37.

[34] Poole, "The Plague in Its Stronghold: Tuberculosis in the New York Tenement," in Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, 303-330; see pp. 309, 322. The Bridge, pp. 78-83.

[35] Poole, "The Plague in Its Stronghold," p. 318.

[36] Poole, "The Plague in Its Stronghold," p. 315.

[37] Current medical literature supports this thesis to a degree:

"Infection occurs primarily by inhalation. Infectious droplets, which are aerosolized by coughing and dry while suspended in air, may contaminate air in closed spaces for long periods." Robert Berkow, ed., The Merck Manual of Diagnosis and Therapy, Fifteenth Edition (Rahway: Merck Shapr & Dohme Research Laboratories, 1987), p. 113.

[38] Poole, "The Plague in Its Stronghold," especially pp. 306-308; relevant quotation is on p. 306; in The Bridge, p. 82, Poole slightly misquoted himself.

[39] Poole, "The Plague in Its Stronghold," p. 305.

[40] I have found the anecdote quoted or paraphrased in Caldwell, The Last Crusade, p. 179-80; Klein and Kantor, Prisoners of Progress, p. 315; and Moses Rischin, The Promised City: New York's Jews 1870-1914 (New York: Corinth Books, 1964), p. 87.

[41] Poole, Blind: A Story of These Times (New York: Macmillan, 1920), p. 48.

[42] Poole, The Bridge, pp. 82-83; Poole, "'The Lung Block' Some Pictures of Consumption in Its Stronghold," Charities, 11 (September 5, 1903), 193-99; Poole's photographs and other materials from the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis accompanied Eugene Wood's two-part article, "Consumption, the Great White Plague," Everybody's, 10 (May 1904), 617-26; (June 1904), 795-804. During the New Deal era, the term "Lung Block" appeared in the Federal Writers' Project's New York City Guide (New York: Random House, 1939), p. 114, in the description of the new and ill-designed Knickerbocker Village. I found the Mitchell reference quoted in Luc Sante, Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1991), p. 45.

[43] Brandt, "Wanted: A Breathing Space," Charities, 11 (September 5, 1903), 200-205; "Lung Block or Park-Playground--Which?", Charities, 11 (October 10, 1903), 335-37.

[44] The Bridge, pp. 83-84.

[45] "An Example of Neighborhood Inertia," Charities, 11 (December 12, 1903), pp. 566-67. The Federal Writers' Project guide found much to detest in the new project: "Among rancid tenements, at Cherry and Catharine Streets, stands the immense KNICKERBOCKER VILLAGE . . . Built on the site of a notorious 'lung' block, it rents 1,600 apartments for an average of $12.50 a room a month to better-paid white-collar workers. The average rental elsewhere in the district is nearer five dollars and the former occupants of the site have moved to other slums. With a total of twelve floors, the buildings form an overcrowded group whose essential

monotony is barely relieved by the sparse planting which differentiates it from hundreds of equally undistinguished apartments uptown." New York City Guide, p. 114.

[46] Poole to John McMackin, state commissioner of labor, October 20, 1903, and Poole to C.J. Mar, Hearst Syndicate, December 5, 1903, both in University Settlement papers, box 17. See also Poole, "April--1903: The Prayer of the Tenement," and "April--1904: The Prayer Unanswered," Charities, 12 (April 16, 1904), 395-96; and "The Song That Failed," Ibid., (April 23, 1904), 408.

[47] Truman Frederick Keefer,"The Literary Career . . . of Ernest Poole," pp. 65-70. An example of his strike writing is "The Meat Strike," Independent, 57 (July 28, 1904), 179-84; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, pp. 112-19.

[48] Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism, p. 268. Poole, "The Ship Must Sail on Time," from Everybody's Magazine, August 1908, excerpted in Harvey Swados, ed., Years of Conscience: The Muckrakers (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 183-185. Poole does not appear in Arthur and Lila Weinberg, eds., The Muckrakers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961). For references to his work, see Bremner, From the Depths, pp. 205, 215; Felt, Hostages of Fortune, pp. 38-62; Teller, The Tuberculosis Movement, pp. 29-100; and Caldwell, The Last Crusade, pp. 179-86, for the most extended treatment.

[49] Richmond, "The Retail Method of Reform," address of April 17, 1905, in Richmond, The Long View: Papers and Addresses (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930), pp. 214-21.

[50] Hunter, Poverty (New York: Macmillan, 1904) pp. 16, 168-69.

[51] Richmond's review is in International Journal of Ethics, 15 (July 1905), 506-507.

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"THE SCULKING INDIAN ENEMY": COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS' PORTRAYAL OF NATIVE AMERICANS

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"THE SCULKING INDIAN ENEMY": COLONIAL NEWSPAPERS' PORTRAYAL OF NATIVE AMERICANS

Not long after Benjamin Franklin secured the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from Samuel Keimer, the following news item appeared in the paper:

> [T]hey made the Prisoner Sing and Dance for some Time, while six Gun Barrels were heating red hot in the Fire; after which they began to burn the Soals of the poor Wretches Feet until the Bones appeared, and continued burning him by slow Degrees up to his Privites, where they took much Pains. . . . This Barbarity they continued about six Hours, and then, notwithstanding his Feet were in such a Condition, they drove him to a Stake . . . and stuck Splinters of Pine all over his Body, and put Fire to them. . . . In the next Place they scalp'd him and threw hot Embers on his Head. . . . At last they ran two Gun Barrels, one after the other, red hot up his Fundament, upon which expired. . . . P.S. They cut off his Thumbs and offer'd them him to eat and pluck'd off all of his Nails.[1]

The brutality and savagery exhibited in the way the "Shawnese" Indians treated their prisoner--whether reported accurately or embellished by the trader who witnessed it--only intensified the fear many white colonists felt for Native Americans.

The Indians of the Eastern Seaboard of North America, from the beginning of British colonization, "became enemies in the eyes of Pilgrim fathers, who believed that the New World was the promised land which was theirs to possess even if every one of the Canaanites perished at the point of the sword."[2] More than a century after John Smith wrote those words, Native Americans still represented a threat to the expanding white population along the Atlantic coastline. From Boston to Charleston, newspapers reported atrocities inflicted upon innocent white settlers by "the Sculking Indian Enemy," a phrase John Campbell repeatedly used in the *Boston News-Letter* to describe Native Americans.[3]

This paper seeks to uncover colonial newspapers' treatment of Native Americans from the issuance of *Publick Occurrences* in 1690 through 1765, the year the Stamp Act crisis and growing revolutionary fervor captured the attention of the presses of America. The colonial press' treatment of Native Americans was extensive. Sidney Kobre, in *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, pointed out that "[m]ost of the news printed in that first issue of *Publick Occurrences* concerned Indians and Indian warfare."[4] While "most" might be a slight overstatement, *Publick Occurrences*, as well as many of the colonial sheets to follow, devoted considerable space to Native American activities.

But Kobre, whose work is the only comprehensive study of the colonial press, omits the fact that the *Boston News-Letter* provided extensive coverage of Native American activities, even though he acknowledges that gathering news and then delivering the *News-Letter* was often jeopardized by Indian attacks on post riders.[5] Other scholars have studied Native Americans and the media, but those studies focus upon the media's treatment of Indians in the nineteenth century and later or upon the Native American press.[6] The studies do not mention the colonial press. This study seeks to fill in the gap in the literature that this oversight has created.

The Indian population of the colonies during the colonial period shrank continually, primarily because of disease,[7] but also through Indian migration and through war. Despite the reduction in Indian population,[8] the colonial newspapers continued to report on Native American activities because Indians remained a threat to colonization throughout the eighteenth century. In fact, as Native Americans fought off the invading Europeans, they threatened settlement throughout the nineteenth century as the ever-growing white population pushed westward across the Mississippi River and Great Plains and newly implanted English-speaking whites reached eastward from California in an effort to connect with their Atlantic compatriots.[9]

In order to determine what the colonial newspapers had to say about Native Americans, eleven newspapers spanning the period 1690-1765 were read. Those newspapers are *Publick Occurrences*, the *South-Carolina Gazette*, the *Virginia Gazette*, the *Maryland Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *American Weekly Mercury*, the *New York Weekly Journal*, the *Boston News-Letter*, the *New-England Courant*, the *New-England Weekly Journal* and the *Boston Evening-Post*.[10] No newspaper bridges the entire period, but by using a significant number of newspapers from all areas of the colonies, an accurate portrayal should be possible. The nearly 15,000 editions of these eleven newspapers were read in five-year increments beginning in 1720. Before 1720, when only the one issue of *Publick Occurrences* and the *Boston News-Letter* existed, all issues were read.[11] Before looking at Indians as reported by the colonial press, a brief overview of Native Americans' representation in English prints prior to *Publick Occurrences* and in pamphlets of the period should help in understanding the white colonists' later perceptions of Native Americans.

Native Americans in Print Outside Colonial Newspapers

The English concept of the inhabitants of the New World originated before any Englishman stepped foot in North America. Sir Thomas More, in his 1517 work *Utopia*, described some of the inhabitants of his imagined country as "no less savage, wild, and noisome than the very beasts themselves."[12] Two years later, More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, stated that the Indians "nother knowe God nor the diuill, nor never harde tell of wrytynge nor other scripture." He went on to say that Europeans would be performing "a great meritoryouse dede" by exposing Native Americans to European ways of life.[13] By the middle of the sixteenth century, English writers like Richard Eden were positing that Christian nations had a right and obligation to occupy lands not in the possession of any other Christian people.[14]

With these preconceived notions of Native American characteristics and the belief in *vacuum domicilium*, or the duty of civilized nations to seize underused lands from barbarians, the English began their colonization attempts in North America. Indian troubles for the British settlers started almost immediately,[15] and the first long account of those woes appeared in a London newspaper, *Mercurius Civicus*, in 1645 when the paper reported on an Indian massacre in Virginia that claimed 400 colonists.[16]

In America the written attacks on Native Americans started in 1682.[17] In *A True HISTORY of the Captivity & Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, all the horrors imaginable concerning Indians were recorded for colonists to read. Rowlandson, a minister's wife, was abducted February 1, 1675, and her narrative inflamed the fears of being captured by Indians. "I had often before this said," Rowlandson wrote, "that if Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them, than taken alive."[18] Rowlandson described how the Indians took one man and "stripped him naked, and split open his Bowels" and took a woman and "knockt her on the head, and the child in her arms with her: when they had done that they made a fire and put them both into it. . . ."[19]

Even after the appearance of *Publick Occurrences*, the narratives of Indian captivities continued. Cotton Mather wrote in his *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverance* how Indians, after taking English captives, "dash'd out the Brains of the Infants, against a Tree, and several of the other captives . . . were soon sent unto their long House, but the Salvages would presently bury their Hatchets in their Brains, and leave the carcasses on the ground. . . ."[20] Oral reports of this kind had caused Mather's father, Increase, sixty years earlier to tell his congregation to offer thanks to God because "we have sent six hundred heathen souls to hell."[21]

This anti-Indian captivity literature continued throughout the colonial period with recommendations from outstanding ministers.[22] One entire volume was devoted to French and Indian cruelty during the Seven Years War.[23] With such literature circulating through the colonies, colonial printers needed only mention the taking of captives within their weekly newspapers to spur the imaginations of their readers. How the colonial press fostered the fear and hatred of Native Americans, along with the other reporting concerning Indians, follows.

Colonial Newspapers and Native Americans

Publick Occurrences offers the perfect prototype for news coverage of Native Americans by colonial newspapers. Three categories of Indian news appeared in Benjamin Harris' lone edition. Those three types were:

1) The "barbarous" or "Sculking Indian Enemy."

2) Native American and French alliance.

3) Peaceful relations, English and Native Americans.

The first type of news constitutes the majority of Native Americans news stories in *Publick Occurrences*, as well as in the other colonial newspapers. Hundreds of news items appeared that discussed Indian atrocities and wars against colonists. The second type Native American news in *Publick Occurrences* dealt with the Indians' alliance with England's long-time nemesis, France. This news culminated in the Seven Years or French and Indian War. The third type of Indian news often discussed activities carried on by Indians that provided services or were advantageous to the colonists. *Publick Occurrences* referred to Indians that functioned in this way as "Christianized Indians."

A fourth type of Indian news that did not appear in *Publick Occurrences* dealt with the political dialogue between colonial leaders and the Indians. Indian treaties were serious business for colonial governments, and Indian conferences were attended by the most influential of colonial leaders, often at sites many hundreds of miles away from colonial capitals in the backcountry.[24] While treaties between the English colonists and Native Americans may have been the most important exchange between the two groups, the horrors of war between the two dominated the colonial newspapers. The discussion of Native Americans and the newspapers of colonial America begins there.

The Sculking Indian Enemy: News of Indian attacks and atrocities committed upon English colonists appeared with regularity throughout the colonial period. Their frequency rose whenever there was a large Indian war with the settlers. Various

Native American tribes declared war on the colonists in 1711, 1715, 1760 and 1764.[25] In addition, individual colonies declared war upon Indian tribes. Massachusetts encouraged its inhabitants to kill all male Indians over the age of twelve and capture women and children under the age of twelve for rewards in 1706.[26] The colony of South Carolina declared war against the Tuscaroras in 1735 when Lieutenant Governor Thomas Broughton issued a proclamation offering "Fifty Pounds Current Money, and Sixty Pounds like Current Money for every Tuscaroraw Indian who shall be taken alive. . . ."[27] Massachusetts declared war against the "Penobscot and Norridgewack tribes, and other Eastern Indians" in 1745. The colony promised £100 to anyone or group that would "go out and kill a Male Indian of the Age of twelve Years or upwards." To collect, all one had to do was "produce the Scalp in Evidence of his Death." Woman and children under the age of twelve were worth £50 if the scalp was produced.[28] Further north, the *Boston Evening-Post* reported that £50 sterling awaited "any Person, who shall take any Indian Prisoner, and for every Head or Scalp of an Indian killed as aforesaid. . ." in Nova Scotia.[29]

The proclamations of war that were issued by individual colonies followed acts of violence committed by the Indians. Before the South Carolina proclamation, the *South-Carolina Gazette* described for its readers the wounds that took the life of a Carolina Indian trader named George Stevens: "Three cuts on the Head, one on the back & sculp'd, his left hand was split to the wrist, his left shoulder jointed, his Stomach cut open to his Belly, and prick'd all over the Body. . . ."[30]

In Boston, the reporting of Indian activity was much more frequent than in other areas of America, probably because colonists and Native Americans shared a smaller geographical area. Increasing numbers of white colonists crossed the Atlantic into New England, and as a result more fighting for control of land took place. Attacks by Indians, in such a case, would be more likely. The *Boston News-Letter* of May 1, 1704 devoted nearly half of its news coverage to Indian trouble in South Carolina and then told how a local farmer, burning brush around one of his fields, was attacked by Indians "who shot him through the thigh and leggs, then took, Scalpt, kill'd, and stript him Naked." The next day, according to the *News-Letter*, a local sawmill operator was killed by Indians and his wife and son taken captive.[31]

"The Sculking Indian Enemy" continually attacked the colonists of New England during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, and John Campbell regularly reported those attacks in the *News-Letter*. But Campbell did not let news of Native American activities throughout the colonies go unnoticed; he provided his readership with reports from up and down the Atlantic seaboard. The *News-Letter*, for example, gave the citizens of Boston extensive coverage of the Tuscarora War in the Carolinas.[32] The first report arrived via letter from South Carolina in November 1711. The letter related how the "Cape Fair Indians" had cut off twenty families in North Carolina and "Men, Women & Children scalpt them" all.[33] The reports continued throughout 1712 with the last stories on the Tuscaroras appearing from May-July 1713. In May, Campbell presented his readers with an April 16 report from Charleston that said "the heart of the Tuskeraro war is broken."[34] Two months later, news from Philadelphia revealed the fact that the Tuscaroras were still killing English families,[35] but the earlier report was accurate. The Tuscaroras had been defeated, and no more activity by them appeared in the *News-Letter*.

The Indians of South Carolina declared war on the white settlers of the colony in 1715,[36] but that war was the last proclaimed by Native Americans against the colonists until the 1760 Cherokee War. News of Indian attacks upon the colonists continued because the Indians continued to harass and attack the colonists and vice versa. Even if there was no proof that Native Americans had inflicted horrors upon the colonists, they were often blamed for them, as a *New-England Courant* article aptly demonstrates:

> They write from Stratford in Connecticut, that a Woman of that Place having lately left a young Child for a little Tiwe (sic), miss'd it when she came home; and hearing nothing of it, concluded it was drown'd. About a Week after the Child was found two Miles from the House, above high-Water Mark, with the Hands, Head and Private Parts cut off, and a Hole under each Arm, suppos'd to be stabb'd with a Knife. Some Indians being suspected of the Murdre (sic), a Council was held at Stratford, and the Indians were summon'd to appear...."[37]

Reports like this only affirmed the Indian captivity literature that was available to colonists.

The way in which news surrounding Indians was reported also varied from region to region. In August 1735, a trader was found dead 300 miles north of Philadelphia. The *American Weekly Mercury* reported a man was found murdered who "was out on a Trading Journey with the Indians."[38] The same day Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* said, "We have an Account that our Indian Traders lately found an Englishman murther'd and scalp'd. . . . [H]is Name was James Dowthel. . . .

The Murther is suppos'd to have been done by some of the Southern Indians."[39] The *Boston Evening-Post*, however, carried a much more thorough report of the murder than either of the Pennsylvania papers:

> We have an Account by a Person, who about 3 Weeks since with another Man, was out on a Trading Journey with the Indians, That when they were about 300 Miles to the Northward, and 150 (as near as they could Guess) from any Inhabitants, they found a parcel of Skins, and began to suspect that Murder had been committed thereabouts, and presently after finding another parcel of Skins, this greatly increas'd their suspicion; upon which they made search, and found the Body of one James Dowthell lying very near the Path, and they suppos'd him to have lain there about two Days; he was shot thro' the Body, and hack'd very much on one of his Shoulders, and his Scalp was taken off. This Dowthell had been out a Hunting with one William Balden, whom (it is fear'd) is also Murder'd. . . . [B]oth their Dogs returned to their dwellings soon after the Murder was committed. Upon the Discovery of the murder'd Body, they made the best of their way home again; fearing (if they should proceed) that they should be serv'd in the same Manner.[40]

While ventures into a backcountry inhabited by Native Americans were risky business, attempts at everyday life in New England were no less risky, even in the 1730s and 1740s. This may help to explain the extended report of the death of James Dowthell in the *Boston Evening-Post* versus the more sanitized versions that appeared in the Philadelphia papers. In 1745, the Indians in the Massachusetts colony began attacks upon the white settlements. In July, settlers were forced into their garrison on the George's River because of continuing Indian attacks. *Evening-Post* printer Thomas Fleet reported the gruesome results of one of those attacks:

> The Enemies had 2 kill'd and as many wounded in the Engagement, which being over, the Indians cut open Capt. Donahew's Breast, and suck'd his Blood, and hack'd and mangled his Body in a most inhuman and barbarous Manner, and then eat a great part of his Flesh. They also suck'd the Blood and mangled the Bodies of the other Slain. . . ."[41]

The attacks continued, culminating in a declaration of war by Massachusetts upon the "Eastern Indians," and the *Evening-Post* continued to provide coverage.

Inhabitants of other colonies worried at increased Indian activity as well during the middle of the century. A writer to the *Maryland Gazette* exemplified the fear that many settlers possessed of Native Americans when he berated his fellow colonists:

> Are we asleep! Are we stupified or benumbed! by some Charm or magical Power, that we seem to sleep and eat from Day to Day in Security, while Murder and Massacre, and all the horrid Consequences of a barbarous Foe's getting Footing among us, hang over [us].[42]

Two weeks later the *Gazette* reported the murder and scalping of two men,[43] and the December 18 paper carried a description of how a home, once considered a haven of safety, could be invaded by Indians:

> . . . a Lad rose from the Table and opened the Door, and immediately an Indian fired into the House, which lightly grazed along the Lad's Chin, and killed one of the Persons at the Table, whereupon a most sad and lamentable Cry was heard all over the House: One Woman ran out of Doors, and they forced her back; some attempted to run up Stairs, but were torn down again: in short they killed five in the House, who were all burnt and consumed in the Flames. One Man that got out of the House was shot in the Back, and had also three of four Blows in his Body by a Tomahawk, him they also scalped. The Lad that first opened the Door got up Stairs to the second Story, and as he was looking out of the Window an Indian fired at him, which grazed along the Side of his Face, but did not do him much Damage; as soon as the Lad perceived that the Indians were gone to another Part of the House he jumped out of the Window, and saved himself, by Flight. . . .[44]

The conflicts between the "Sculking Indian Enemy" and the white colonists remained a staple of the colonial newspaper. The *Virginia Gazette*, over a one-month period in 1755, carried local Indian news, as well as news of Indian activities in Maine, New York, Nova Scotia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Boston, Annapolis and South Carolina.[45] The *Boston Evening-Post*, in its June 23, 1760 edition, gave its readers several pieces of Indian news from the South Carolina Cherokee War along with Indian news from Annapolis, New York, Quebec and New Hampshire. By 1765, Indian activities against white settlers in the Detroit area found their way into the colonial newspapers.[46] Most of the Indians of the Eastern seaboard had succumbed to the predictions of John Smith and "perished at the point of the sword" or from some other English-inflicted malady.

The largest single concerted effort by Native Americans against the white colonists of America during the eighteenth century occurred in 1760. That is when the once friendly Cherokee Indians in South Carolina mounted an offensive against the colonists. The Cherokees could be found from Georgia through Virginia, and any uprising by them could prove costly to all of British colonial America. The Cherokees had, however, been considered allies of the colonists. A 1755 South Carolina meeting of colonial and Cherokee leaders produced and eloquent soliloquy by a Cherokee chief intended for the ears not only of those in attendance but also for King George:

> We are now Brothers with the People of Carolina, and one House covers us all: The Great King is our common Father. We, our Wives, and all our Children, are the Children of the Great King George, and his Subjects . . . and we will obey him as such. I bring this litle (sic) Child, that, when he grows up, he may remember what is now agreed to, and that he may tell it to the next Generation, that so it may be handed down from one Generation to another for ever.[47]

When this Cherokee policy changed, it was news from Charleston to Boston, and the colonial newspapers followed the activity in South Carolina very carefully.

The *South-Carolina Gazette* reported in February 1760 that the "whole Province is now is Arms, or arming, to repress the Invasion of the persidious Cherokees."[48] The same announcement appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* on April 3. The news reached Boston much sooner, though, through letters, and the *Boston Evening-Post* related how the Cherokees, who had at least 3,000 warriors not counting any Indian allies,[49] had started the killings "by cruelly murdering every white man they could lay hands on . . . and followed the bloody stroke, by massacring numbers of families in the remote parts of the province. . . ."[50] Notices of Cherokee activity throughout the Southern Colonies found their way into Boston. The *Evening-Post* recounted how "the Cherokees have made incursions into Augusta County in Virginia." There, regiments of Virginia militia "repulsed the enemy and kept the field, tho' with great loss of men."[51]

In South Carolina, hostilities escalated. At Ninety-Six, the garrison further inflamed Cherokee hatred by taking a brave "who was killed and scalped, and whose Body was given to the Dogs, and his Scalp hoisted along-side of the Colours to provoke the Enemy to come nearer. . . ." The *Gazette* stated that "[t]he Bodies of the Savages were cut to Pieces and given to the Dogs" as a means of solace for grieving colonists.[52] The Indian situation in South Carolina, aggravated by an outbreak of smallpox, became so tenuous that Lieutenant Governor William Bull ordered a day of "FASTING, HUMILIATION, and PRAYER to ALMIGHTY GOD, for averting the Evils which at present threaten us" on April 12.[53]

The war was at full force by summer, and the atrocities inflicted upon the settlers matched those that the settlers had perpetrated on the Cherokees. A lengthy

South-Carolina Gazette war report told of rotten meat and a bit of corn as the sole provender of the people held in siege at several forts. A ransom was paid for a woman and three children, "but the Woman had been so cruelly used that she died soon after." In addition, the report stated that "[t]he Indians burn all their Men Prisoners; they had lately burnt Six at Conasatchee . . . amongst them John Downing, whose Arms and Legs they first cut off. . . ."[54]

By the end of August, the colonists held captive in Fort Loudoun had surrendered the fort and its artillery to the Cherokees in agreement for safe passage northward.[55] But one thing that the South Carolina settlers did not realize was that the Cherokees were divided into several groups, and the surrender to one group at Fort Loudoun did not ensure that Cherokees farther north would not attack soldiers on the march. That is exactly what happened to the men who left the fort under articles of capitulation. The attack left the colonists in "utmost confusion." The Cherokees, according to the *South-Carolina Gazette*'s report, tortured all of their captives.

> Capt. Demeré received two wounds the first volley, was directly scalped, and the Indians made him dance about for their diversion some time, after which they chopped off one hand or arm, than the other, and so his legs, &c. using the most shocking barbarities on the bodies of others of our people. . . .[56]

Coverage of the war continued throughout 1760, but the Cherokees, tired of the fighting, agreed to articles of capitulation in late October,[57] although reports of fighting could be found in the newspapers into December.[58]

Not all white men from Europe proved to be the Indians' enemies, however. Many Native Americans discovered an affinity for the French and allied themselves with these trappers and missionaries. The French were a formidable foe for the English settlers in America, and their confederation with Native Americans ultimately produced a war for the English colonists. News of Indians joining with England's old nemesis France produced considerable news in the colonial newspapers, and the nature of that news was very similar to news of "the Sculking Indian Enemy," as the following discussion demonstrates.

Native American and French Alliance: Unlike the Spanish who came before them and the English who arrived at roughly the same time, the French settlers in North America realized that the only way to peaceably exist with the Native Americans was to accept them exactly as they were. The French in America learned the differences in the various Indian cultures and did not try to force their language or religion upon the Native Americans.[59] As a result, by the time of *Publick Occurrences*, the French and many Indian tribes were political allies and friends, and Benjamin Harris' one-time offering related to Boston's citizens the following:

> Two English Captives escaped from the Hands of Indians and French at Pascadamodquady, came into Portsmouth on the sixteenth Instant & say, That when Capt. Mason was at Fort Real, he cut the faces, and ript the bellies of two Indians, and threw a third Over board in the sight of the French, who informing the other Indians of it, they have in revenge barbarously Butcher'd forty Captives of our that were in their hands.[60]

Publick Occurrence's story demonstrates that by 1690, the French and some Indians were at war with the English colonists of Massachusetts Bay. In fact, certain groups of Native Americans initiated a war against the settlers in 1688, according to Cotton Mather, that lasted for a decade.[61] The French success with the Native Americans, coupled with the "bad blood" that existed between England and France helped many

Indian tribes lose any autonomy that the tribe may have gained from the English settlers. Once Native Americans allied themselves with the French, they became known in the English colonies and in the colonial press as French Indians.[62]

The "French Indians" along with Frenchmen staged a number of raids on English settlements early in the eighteenth century, according to the *Boston News-Letter*. One letter reprinted by John Campbell said that in order for a new English settlement to survive, "God must work Miracles, to preserve it" from attacks by the French and Indians.[63] Another time, 400 French and Indians attacked six English garrisons following an English raid on an empty Indian village, where 40 houses were destroyed.[64] The French and Indians also used "Sloops and Canoo's" in their raids on English settlements along the coast.[65] Because the French and Indians took to the water for their raids, not even English ships were safe from attack. The *News-Letter* related how

> in a narrow Passage of the River about 60 or 70 Panabicot Indians mixt with French as 'tis thought about 1150 in all . . . kill'd the whale Boats Crew, wounded Fort-Major William Elliot, & afterwards Barbarously Murdered him. . . . 34 Men were carried Captive to Menis & so to La Bay Verte to be Transported to Cannada.[66]

The raids by the French and Indians upon English settlements occurred with regularity in the first half of the eighteenth century, according to newspaper accounts. At times the raids produced gruesome results such as one the *American Weekly Mercury* reported in 1725. Two New England boys, abducted and carried back to Canada, were not discovered, at least not until the decapitated and mangled body of one was found.[67] The French and Indian alliance even staged attacks upon Indians who joined into peace treaties with the English. The *New-England Weekly Journal* informed its readers in February 1740, that "700 French Indians had made an Inroad into Mohawks Country," forcing the Mohawks into English forts in northern New York.[68]

The French and Indian assault upon the English settlements in North America culminated in the French and Indian War. Officially listed as a war that lasted from 1754-1763, the conflict between the English and the Native American and French alliance produced an escalation in hostilities much earlier. A New England garrison was attacked by "an Army of French and Indians" late in 1745.[69] The *Maryland Gazette*, reporting on Indian activity from the Boston area, pointed out that "[i]t is credibly reported, that the Indians are paid and subsisted as French troops."[70] And the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in passing on information contained in a Boston letter received in Philadelphia, recounted how the Penobscot Indians had been on board a French sloop loaded with Indians preparing to attack English settlements.[71]

By 1755 the French and Indian hostilities--along with French privateering activities in the shipping lanes--captured much of the colonial news. Even though England had yet to declare war upon France, there was a war being waged in British colonial America. "Indians, with French Officers among them, have been hovering about our Settlements for several Days," was the notice received in Boston from the English north of that city.[72] Along the coast, the French were setting up blockades of the colonial ports,[73] while "the French, and their Indians" were cutting off the supply routes for the English in the backcountry[74] and trying to make the Appalachian Mountains the border of Great Britain in America.[75] As the fall of 1755 arrived, Indian hostilities, spurred on by the French, were on the rise in all colonies. From Boston to Charleston, fresh Indian atrocities appeared each week in the colonial newspapers.[76] Little doubt that the French were doing all they could to stir hostilities between the Indians and English surfaced when a French prize was brought to harbor containing a large cache of scalping knives sent from France to be distributed among the Native Americans.[77]

Although the French and Indian War officially continued until the signing of the Peace of Paris in 1763, French and Indian War news in the colonial newspapers decreased by 1760. In its wake grew reports of the Cherokee War in the Southern colonies. Yet even there, the French were blamed for inflaming hostilities, as a letter sent from Charleston to New York that found its way into the *Maryland Gazette* demonstrates. The Upper Tribe of Creeks joined in the hostilities as Cherokee allies, leaving the letter writer to speculate, "Thus it appears the French and their Agents have not been inactive. . . ."[78]

With the conclusion of the French and Indian War, much of the hostile Indian activity ended in the British colonies. The French were expelled from North America, and the lands east of the Mississippi River were considered a part of England. Still, occasional Indian attacks occurred, as one reported in the *Boston Evening-Post* August 26, 1765 proves. Two whites were killed and a large number were taken captive. Much of the Indian trouble now occurred to the west, in the Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi River valleys. Indians, if they remained at all along the Atlantic seaboard, often received different treatment from white colonists. A white man in New Haven, who killed an Indian, was not rewarded in 1765 as he would have been a decade earlier. Now the man was charged with murder.[79] Equitable and friendly treatment of Native Americans represents the third type of Indian news to appear in the colonial newspapers. Representative samples follow.

Peaceful Relations, English and Native Americans: When *Publick Occurrences* related to Boston's citizens the happenings of the "Christianized Indians in some parts of Plimouth," Benjamin Harris was reporting on more than a peaceful group of Native Americans. He was reporting on one of the English settlers' objectives for the New World--to convert the Indians to Christianity. Unfortunately for the Native Americans living in the vicinity of English immigrants, Christianity, as presented in New England, did not fit into the Indians' lifestyle very successfully. Approximately 20 percent of the Native Americans had been converted by 1670, and the colonists had begun to realize that conversion was not likely. If the Indians could not be converted, they needed to be destroyed.[80] Considering this fact, it is amazing that friendly relations with the Native Americans occurred at all. But they did, and evidence of those relationships appeared in the colonial newspapers.

One of the most consistent presentations of friendly Indians in the colonial press related how the Indians helped colonists search out the enemy, be that enemy other Indians or French. "One Englishman and four Indians" were "sent out upon discovery of the Enemy" in 1704 and destroyed the enemy, a group of Native Americans.[81] When the Tuscaroras instituted hostilities in North Carolina in 1711, a large military force, comprised mostly of Indians from South Carolina, marched northward to the assistance of the North Carolinians. "Just now arrived here Mr. Edward Foster our Agent from South Carolina," the *News-Letter* printed, "with Advice that 1200 Indians and 50 or 60 English under the Command of Col. Moor are upon their march for this place [North Carolina] to our Assistance against the Indian Enemy."[82] Three months later, "none of the Tuscarorowes [were] to be seen" because "the South Carolina Indians were there and were Masters of the Country."[83]

Native Americans continued to serve in the military for the English. When hostilities erupted between Spain and England in 1739, Southern Indians were quick to volunteer to defend the provincial interests of South Carolina and Georgia. They even joined James Oglethorpe in an English assault upon St. Augustine in Spanish Florida. Several nations of Indians--the Uchees, Chickasaws, Talapoosies, Creeks and Cherokees--met Oglethorpe in Savannah and proceeded "immediately for the Spanish Frontiers."[84] Even during the French and Indian War, some Native Americans allied themselves with the English. When a French and Indian force of 7,000 assaulted the forts around Albany, New York, Indians fought "with great Intrepidity" against them. Later the Indian allies of the English came into Albany with approximately 80 enemy scalps each on war poles, which helped to bolster the English morale.[85] A force of 1,600 Cherokees marched from North Carolina to fight the French and Indians in 1755.[86] When the Cherokees declared war on the colonists in 1760, the Catawbas fought against them and brought Cherokee scalps into Charleston to claim the bounty that had been placed on the Cherokees.[87]

In addition to fighting for the English colonies, the Native Americans assisted the white settlers in reducing the Indian population by continuing tribal hostilities.[88] In 1716, the Cherokees in South Carolina assisted the white settlers by declaring war against "our Enemy Indians." The colonial leaders were so thrilled that they sent the Cherokees ammunition.[89] Other wars took place between Indian nations in 1730 and 1745, and the colonial newspapers reported them.[90]

Unless Native Americans were involved in fighting for the colonists, positive news items about them were rare. Equitable and humanitarian efforts toward the Indians were even rarer. The *Boston Evening-Post* reported on a Pennsylvania treaty to send food to Indians,[91] and a bill was introduced into Parliament in 1765 to protect the free Indians in the colonies.[92] Usually, positive news on Native Americans was the result of their misfortune. "We hear from Albany that 6 Indians in a bark canoe, attempting to cross the ferry at Green Bush, were overset," the *Boston Evening-Post* printed, "& four of them *happily* drowned."[93] Rarely was justice served on Native Americans--or at least rarely was it reported. One account of justice that did make the colonial newspapers came from Boston. Six white men, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* related, discovered three Indians camped and asleep in the woods. They shot at them, killing two. The squaw of one of the deceased obtained a warrant for murder, and five of the six "were taken and committed to goal."[94] Cruelty to Native Americans closer to Philadelphia, however, did not make it into the local newspapers,[95] nor into other colonial sheets.

The news in colonial newspapers dealing with the positive aspects of Native Americans never approached the quantity of news that dealt with Indians as the colonials' enemies. One type of closely-related news--that dealing with treaties between the colonists and Indians--demonstrates that the colonists understood the significant role Native Americans played in the success of English settlements in America. A discussion of the two groups' political confrontations, as they appeared in the colonial newspapers, follows.

Political Relationships-Native Americans and English: Although no political meeting between Native Americans and the English appeared in *Publick Occurrences*, the nature of some of its news on Indian-white relationships proves that such alliances were important. One item stated that the "Albanians, New-Yorkers and the five Nations of Indians" had long attempted to get Massachusetts to launch a naval attack on Canada while they mounted a land assault.[96] At numerous times during the period, colonies entered into political agreements with various Native American tribes. These agreements were covered by the newspapers from Boston to Charleston.

In 1712, in the midst of the Tuscarora War in North Carolina, a group of Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland put on their war paint in what appeared to be preparation for war against the white colonists. Immediately, the Maryland government sent a messenger to uncover exactly what was happening.[97] When the delegations of colonists usually met with Native Americans, the most important of its political leaders were sent. In November 1734, South Carolina's governor allowed a group of seventy Cherokees to enter Charleston for peace talks.[98] In 1735, Massachusetts Governor Jonathan Belcher traveled to the frontier "to preserve and perpetuate the happy Peace with the Indians."[99] Later that same year the "Governour, being attended by a Number of his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, and divers other Gentlemen, set out for Deerfield, to have an Interview with the Western Indians."[100] That "interview" led to a series of treaties with several tribes.[101]

The colonial newspapers continued to report meetings with the Indians, but the significance of treaties between colonial governments and Native Americans began to wain in significance following the French and Indian War period. The necessity for treaties between the English and Native Americans moved west of the Appalachians, and the colonial newspapers--while not completely unconcerned with the activities beyond the mountains--turned their attention to the political crises that were developing between the American colonies and England.

Conclusion

News of Native Americans occupied a significant position in colonial newspapers until 1765. Most of that news dealt with Native Americans as "the Sculking Indian Enemy" because the Indians were seen as a barbarous group that threatened the life and success of the English colonists. Colonial news often described the horrors of Indian attacks upon the colonists with graphic descriptions of how settlers were murdered. In doing this, colonial news followed a practice already established in the colonies by captivity literature, which described the way in which Indians treated their prisoners. Colonial newspapers gave graphic accounts of the treatment of captives by

Native Americans when it was available, but because the captivity literature had already described the treatment of Indian captives--especially women and children--newspapers needed only mention that prisoners were taken to set the minds of colonial readers at work imagining the horrors that were taking place.

Closely related to the news of "the Sculking Indian Enemy" was news that described Native Americans' alliances with the French. The natural dislike between England and France was transmitted across the Atlantic, and news of French and Indians in partnership against the English appeared with *Publick Occurrences* and continued throughout the colonial period, culminating in news coverage of the French and Indian War. French and Indians news in the colonial newspapers rivaled hostile Indian news in gruesomeness.

All news of Native Americans in the colonial newspapers was not adversarial. Indian alliances with the British colonists--while not as predominant as news of Indian hostilities--appeared in the colonial newspapers. Native Americans fought with the English colonists against Spain and France, and Indians continued their hostilities toward one another, a fact that aided colonists by reducing the number of Indians found in the colonies. In addition, the colonial newspapers demonstrate that colonial governments took seriously their dealings with Native American tribes. Political leaders of influence often traveled hundreds of miles to secure treaties with tribal leaders.

Colonial newspapers' portrayal of Native Americans illustrates some of the variety of news contained in the papers of the eighteenth century. Although American newspapers were in their infancy, they were more than sheets of clipped political and war news from Europe. In addition, colonial newspapers' characterization of Indian news is an accurate reflection of the perceptions of Native Americans in the colonies, one that many historians have ignored.[102] According to the colonial newspapers, Native Americans were "the Sculking Indian Enemy," and as such they needed to be removed from America as English colonists assumed control of the land. For the Native Americans, the question posed to the white English settlers was, "Shew me where I an Indian can retire. 'Tis thou that chasest me; shew me where thou wilt that I take refuge."[103] According to the news of the colonial newspapers, the answer was nowhere, so the Indians had to fight for survival. America was to be England's, and the Indian news of colonial America's newspapers demonstrates the hatred and fear of Native Americans, a hatred and fear that could only be satiated by the removal of the Indians.

NOTES

1. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 24 February 1729-30, 3.

2. John Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, in *English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works*, ed. Edward Arber (New York: AMS, 1967), 10-11.

3. *See*, for example, *Boston News-Letter*, 29 July 1706, 2.

4. Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (1944; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 14.

5. *Ibid.*, 25.

6. Works on the Native American press in America include: Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (1936); Sharon Murphy, *Other Voices: Black, Chicano, and American Indian Press* (1974); Richard Lacourse, "An Indian Perspective--Native American Journalism: An Overview," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 34-38; Barbara P. Leubke, "Elias Boudinott, Indian Editor: Editorial Columns from the *Cherokee Phoenix*," *Journalism History* 6 (Winter 1979): 48-51; Henry T. Malone, "The Cherokee Phoenix: Supreme Expression of Cherokee Nationalism," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 34 (Sept. 1950): 163-88; Douglas C. McMurtie, "The *Shawnee Sun*: The First Indian Language Periodical Published in the United States," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (1933): 339-42; Sam G. Riley, "A note of Caution--The Indians' Own Prejudice, as mirrored in the First Native American Newspaper," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 44-47.

Works on the media's coverage of Native Americans include: Oliver A. Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners, 1866-1891* (1960); Douglas C. Jones, "Teresa Dean: Lady Correspondent Among the Sioux Indians," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (1972): 656-62; Sharon Murphy, "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 39-43; Roger L. Nichols, "Printers' Ink and Red Skins: Western Newspapermen and the Indians," *Kansas Quarterly* 3 (Fall 1971): 82-88; Elmo S. Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press, 1866-1867," *Journalism Quarterly* 20 (1943): 301-10.

7. Smallpox was the most lethal disease introduced by Europeans to America, but measles, influenza, typhus and diphtheria--to name some of the other diseases inflicted upon Indians--were large killers as well. Epidemics of diseases broke out throughout the colonial period often destroying Native Americans far beyond their contact with white settlers. For a complete discussion of diseases' effects upon Native Americans, *see* Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 7-26.

8. During the eighteenth century, Native American population counts were never very high. Members of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, one of the most influential Native American groups upon all white settlers, never numbered more than 10,000. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds., *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 5.

9. For a discussion of media treatment of Native Americans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *see* Sharon Murphy, "American Indians and the Media Stereotype," *Journalism History* 6, 2 (Summer 1979): 39-43.

10. The eleven newspapers used for this study were chosen for several reasons, not the least of which was availability. Coverage of the colonies also played a factor in newspaper selection. The selection includes several newspapers from Boston and two from Philadelphia. The other selections provide broad coverage of the colonies.

11. This method should provide a sample size of more than 2,500 newspapers and a standard error of less than 2 percent and an accurate representation of the colonial newspapers' treatment of Native Americans. For an explanation of sample size and standard error, *see* Donald P. Warwick and Charles A. Lininger, *The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 93. Warwick and Lininger demonstrate that a survey sample of 500 produces a standard error of four percent. In order to reduce the chance of error to three percent, 1,000 samples would have to be taken, and 2,500 samples would be required to reduce to error margin to two percent.

12. Thomas More, *Utopia* (1517; reprint, London, 1955), 17, quoted in Alfred A. Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 112 (Fall 1988), 278.

13. John Rastell, *Interlude of the Four Elements* (London, 1519), quoted in Cave, 278.

14. Cave, 279.

15. James Axtell believes part of the hostility that Native Americans exhibited for the English colonists from the very beginning stemmed from at least 50-100 years of prior contact with white Europeans. James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29.

16. *Mercurius Civicus* (London), 22 May 1645, in Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620-1690* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 86-87.

17. The treatment of Native Americans in American literature, especially fictional literature, may be found in Wynette L. Hamilton, "The Correlation between Societal

Attitudes and Those of American Authors in the Depiction of American Indians, 1607-1860," *American Indian Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1974): 1-26.

18. Mary Rowlandson, *A True HISTORY of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. MARY ROWLANDSON, a Minister's Wife in New-England. Wherein is set forth, The Cruel and Inhumane Usage she underwent amongst the Heathens, for Eleven Weeks time: And her Deliverance from Them* (New-England, 1682), 3.

19. *Ibid.*, 1, 8.

20. Cotton Mather, *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances, A Brief Discourse on the MATTER and METHOD, of that HUMILIATION which would be an Hopeful Symptom of our Deliverance from Calamity. Accompanied and Accommodated with A NARRATIVE, of a notable Deliverance lately Received by some English Captives, From the Hands of Cruel Indians* (Boston, 1697), 43.

21. Quoted in Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1980), 189.

22. The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, one of the ministers who joined George Whitefield in promoting religion and revival during the Great Awakening, offered a recommendation for a captivity narrative written by a deacon in his church. *See* Robert Eastburn, *A Faithful NARRATIVE of The Many Dangers and Sufferings, as well as wonderful Deliverance of ROBERT EASTBURN, during his late Captivity among the INDIANS: Together with some Remarks upon the Country of Canada, and the Religion, and Policy of its Inhabitants; tho whole intermixed with devout Reflections* (Philadelphia, 1758).

23. Peter Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty; Exemplified in the LIFE And various Vicisitudes of Fortune, of PETER WILLIAMSON, A Disbanded Soldier* (York, 1757).

24. Yasuhide Kawashima, "Forest Diplomats: The Role of Interpreters in the Indian-White Relations on the Early American Frontier," *American Indian Quarterly* 13 (Winter 1989): 4.

25. Axtell, 119.

26. *Boston News-Letter*, 19 August 1706, 2.

27. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 21 June 1735, 1.

28. *Boston Evening-Post*, 26 August 1745, 2.

29. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1755, 1.

30. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 5 April 1735, 2.

31. *Boston News-Letter*, 1 May 1704, 3.

32. The Tuscaroras were the largest tribe of Native Americans in the coastal region of North and South Carolina in the early 1700s. Their population numbered about 4,000 at this time. The Indians began the war by attacking settlements around New Bern, the largest town in North Carolina on September 22, 1711. With assistance from South Carolina, the Tuscaroras were defeated after two years of fighting, and those remaining eventually migrated to New York and became a part of the confederacy of tribes there. Thomas C. Parramore, *Carolina Quest* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 65.

33. *Boston News-Letter* 26 November 1711, 2.

34. *Ibid.*, 11 May 1713, 2.

35. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1713, 2.

36. *Ibid.*, 13 June 1715, 2.

37. *New-England Courant* (Boston), 14 August 1725, 2.

38. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 28 August 1735, 3.

39. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 28 August 1735, 3.

40. *Boston Evening-Post*, 8 September 1735, 2.

41. *Ibid.*, 29 July 1745, 2.

42. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 6 November 1755, 3.

43. *Ibid.*, 20 November 1755, 2.

44. *Ibid.*, 18 December 1755, 3.

45. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 19 September 1755-17 October 1755.

46. *Boston Evening-Post*, 14 January 1765, 3.

47. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 19 September 1755, 2.

48. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 23 February 1760, 2. The Cherokee War probably was initiated by Indian bounty hunters in the mountains of Virginia early in 1760. A group of 40 Cherokees returning from military service in the British army were ambushed and scalped for the reward that the colonial government of Virginia paid for the scalps of enemy Indians (Gibson, 228).

49. James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbours from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 117.

50. *Boston Evening-Post*, 17 March 1760, 4.

51. *Ibid.*, 28 April 1760, 3.

52. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 15 March 1760, 2.

53. *Ibid.*, 12 April 1760, 1.

54. *Ibid.*, 7 June 1760, 2.

55. *Ibid.*, 23 August 1760, 2.

56. *Ibid.*, 4 October 1760, 2.

57. *Ibid.*, 26 October 1760, 2.

58. *Ibid.*, 6 December 1760, 2; 23 December 1760, 2.

59. Gibson, 122-23.

60. *Publick Occurrences* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 2.

61. Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum. An HISTORY of Remarkable Occurrences, in the Long WAR, which NEW-ENGLAND hath had with the Indian Salvages, From the Year, 1688. To the Year, 1698* (Boston, 1699), 13.

62. The term French Indians is employed consistently in colonial newspapers to refer to any Indians that entered into alliance with the French. These Indians were often from Canada, but even Southern Indians sometimes were referred to as French Indians. *Publick Occurrences* used the term when it reported that a rescue party had traveled down the Oyster River in search of English captives. The group met with "the French, and the French Indians."

63. *Boston News-Letter*, 3 July 1704, 1.

64. *Ibid.*, 1 August 1704, 1.

65. *Ibid.*, 9 October 1704, 2.

66. *Ibid.*, 25 June 1711, 2.

67. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 30 September 1725, 2.

68. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 19 February 1740, 1.

69. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 5 December 1745, 4.

70. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 4 July 1750, 3.

71. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 27 September 1750, 2.

72. *Boston Evening-Post*, 3 March 1755, 2.

73. *Ibid.*, 24 March 1755, 1.

74. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 28 February 1755, 3.

75. *Ibid.*, 5 September 1755, 1.

76. The content of several colonial newspapers during a five-day period demonstrates the extent of French and Indian war news at this time. The week is not exceptional. From October 13-17, 1755, the following appeared in papers from Boston to Charleston: *Boston Evening-Post* (13 October)- 3 accounts dealing with Indians and war, 3 others dealing with war with the French, 3 dealing with the direct war situation between England and France in Europe; *Maryland Gazette* (16 October)- 4 accounts dealing with Indians and war, 8 others dealing with war with the French; *Virginia Gazette* (17 October)-3 accounts dealing with war with French and Indians (the only other news of the week was a letter on growing indigo and a notice of the proroguing of the House of Burgesses); *South-Carolina Gazette* (16 October)- 1 account dealing with Indians and war, 9 dealing with the war with the French and Indians.

77. *Boston Evening-Post*, 13 October 1755, 2; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 30 October 1755, 2.

78. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 26 June 1760, 3.

79. *Boston Evening-Post*, 12 August 1765, 2.

80. Gibson, 195.

81. *Boston News-Letter*, 26 June 1704, 2.

82. *Ibid.*, 29 December 1712, 2.

83. *Ibid.*, 9 March 1713, 2.

84. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 29 May 1740, 3.

85. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg) 26 September 1755, 2; 17 October 1755, 2.

86. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 16 October 1755, 2.

87. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 11 October 1760, 3.

88. It should be remembered that all of the Native American activities during the eighteenth century did not revolve around the white colonists, even though a look at Native Americans through the colonial press makes it appear that way. Native Americans continued for many years to follow their own diplomatic and military agendas among themselves, in addition to their relationships with the English colonists (Richter, 6).

89. *Boston News-Letter*, 5 November 1716, 1.

90. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 March 1730, 4; *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 10 October 1745, 3.

91. *Boston Evening-Post*, 23 September 1745, 2.

92. *Ibid.*, 15 July 1765, 2.

93. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1765, 2.

94. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 16 January 1750, 1.

95. In December 1763, twenty "friendly Indians" were massacred in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Benjamin Franklin penned an essay on the matter, but, according to Pete Steffens, "at no time during December or January did either of the two papers in Philadelphia . . . print news of the two massacres" except for what was in a proclamation denouncing the killings. Pete Steffens, "Franklin's Early Attack on Racism: An Essay Against a Massacre of Indians," *Journalism History* 5 (Spring 1978): 10.

96. *Publick Occurrences* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 2.

97. *Boston News-Letter*, 11 August 1712, 2.

98. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 14 January 1735, 2.

99. *Ibid.*, 4 February 1735, 3.

100. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 26 August 1735, 2.

101. *Ibid.*, 2 September 1735, 2.

102. It is significant to note that all of the secondary sources used in preparation of this paper failed to consult the colonial newspapers for information concerning Native

Americans, even though many of them dealt with the relationships between white settlers and the Indians. The information on Indians in the newspapers, in many instances, can shed additional light on a subject, provide verification for statements or bring to light new information.

103. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 2 January 1750, 2.

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News Before Newspapers: a Perspective on News Values

In the standard version of journalism history, the 1830s are set down as watershed years. To the left, the old journalism, politically driven and opinionated. To the right, the beginnings of modern journalism, a news-not-views courting of the masses, a.k.a. the Jacksonian democrats. In this script, Benjamin Day and James Gordon Bennett discover that news of crime, disasters and high society can be marketed. As one textbook puts it, the penny papers "proved that news was a valuable commodity if delivered in a sprightly manner." (1)

A number of theories attempt to explain why editors came to this realization. Some writers give considerable weight to the ingenuity of Day and Bennett themselves. Others have suggested that the emphasis on news was a natural development, while others point to improvements in technology. Others cite increased literacy of the population. Sociologist Michael Schudson's explanation, which has gained academic credence, links the rise of the popular press with the rise of the common man in the Jacksonian era.

Implicit in all these theories is a sense of progress, a sense that modern news values were "discovered" in this decade and that they were part of the warp and woof of the American scene, a unique outgrowth of a unique social setting.

Where, then, can we fit in the fact that identical news values were exploited in an earlier and far different age, before the British had set foot on North America, before, even, there were newspapers at all? An examination of these publications-- the news pamphlets of Tudor England and beyond -- does not necessarily invalidate any of the present views of American journalism of the 1830s, but it does offer a less parochial perspective on the nature of news and its relation to its audience. Such a study provides an overlay to the American 1830s, adding new features to the map without obliterating existing ones and, by shading, softening some of the certainties.

Broadened perspective aside, news pamphlets are worth examining of themselves. Their variety of form and tone represents experimentation in a time when, in the words of one scholar, "the idea of news was still unfixed." (2)

But the subject of pamphlets has all but fallen from historical consciousness. In a data base search, the combination of "news" and "pamphlet" yielded no entries in either the Social Science Citation Index, going back to 1972, nor the Humanities Citation Index, which dates to 1983. Nor are news pamphlets the subject for any of the 320 articles indexed under "journalism history" in Communication Abstracts since 1984 (though the Abstract missed one pertinent article). A citation search in Dialog Information Services turned up several entries that held promise, but none proved central enough to be used in this article.

The pamphlets, often called relations by their readers, have attracted little interest because historian are intent on identifying the first publication that meets their definition of a newspaper. Such definitions call for a degree of uniformity in design, some variety in content, and publication at regular intervals.(3) Relations, which tended to tell but one story and had no tie to any publication before or after them, do not meet these requirements, and so are generally passed over as a "stage" on the way to the true newspaper. As a stage, one infers, they were inferior to the first "true" newspapers.

One college textbook, The Media in America, in a section typically headed "From Letters to Newspapers," covers the pamphlets in a single paragraph, two thirds of which is devoted to a description of one pamphlet, offered by way of example. Only 53 words are devoted to an overview of the pamphlets. Such meagerness is indicative of their place in traditional journalism history -- as is the fact that those few words contain two errors and one statement that is too inclusive.(4)

The text describes them as four-page pamphlets, but probably none was that short. Pamphlet buyers were getting the equivalent of a lead magazine article, a text of from 3,000 to 5,000 words (but sometimes considerably more) presented in a 7 1/2-by-5 3/4-inch pamphlet of a dozen pages or more.(5) The oldest such to survive, entitled "Hereafter ensue the true encounter or battle lately done between England and Scotland, in which battle the Scottish King was slain," was printed in 1513. (6) News pamphlets continued as a popular form through most of the seventeenth century (7), well after the periodical press had been established. (The Media in America text erroneously limits their span to the "latter part of the sixteenth century"). (8)

The relations stand in marked contrast to the stodgy news found in those first newspapers (1621 or 1622 is commonly named as the year of the first British periodical, though opinions about what constitutes the first newspaper vary).
Relations were often flamboyant, sensational, maudlin and bloody. Taken as a group, they exhibit all the characteristics attributed to the penny press.

From these pamphlets, Londoners experienced the hardships of the colonists in Jamestown and Plymouth, followed the doings of the rich and famous, worried over the latest news on the fighting in the Low Countries, learned of new products like coffee, tobacco and cocoa, and shook their heads over accounts of murders and witch trials, floods and fires, wonders and portents.

Mention should be made, too, of the informational pamphlets, which instructed readers on "The use of the Rapier and Dagger and of Honour and Honorable Quarrels" (9) or gave them "A briefe description of the Worlde." (10) Such informational pamphlets are outside the scope of the present article, but they contributed to the mix of news and information available to the English in the days of Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth.

A Handlist of News Pamphlets, which identifies all the relations known to have been printed between 1590 and 1610, gives 364 titles -- an average of a new publication about every three weeks. (11)

News pamphlets occupied the middle rung of the news ladder. Beneath them were the news ballads, which printers sometimes released on the same day as a pamphlet on the same subject--creating the Elizabethan version of a media blitz. Rhymed and sung to an existing tune, the ballads commemorated the major events of the day, as in this report on the earthquake of 1580:

> Quake, quake, 'Tis tyme to quake,
> When Towers and Townes and All doo shake. (12)

On the top rung of the news ladder were the private letter writers, who were retained by the wealthier members of the nobility to keep them abreast of what was happening in the capital and the mainland of Europe.

The ballads were priced at two for a penny, and the typical price for a news pamphlet was twopence. (13) Some pamphlets found their way into the libraries of the well-to-do, but most were aimed at the mass audience. London in the time of Elizabeth had a population of about 300,000, (14) but the market was considerably smaller because women were not news consumers and only about half the males could read, according to some estimates. (15) One can deduce the audience from the subject matter, the packaging and the sales methods.

One also can identify the pamphlets' audience by what was said of them. One writer, speaking of the whole body of pamphlets and not just those dealing with news, describes a mass audience that would suit modern marketers: "For a pamphlet ... seems adapted for every one's Understanding, for every one's Reading, for every one's Buying, and consequently becomes a fit Object and Subject of most People's Choice, Capacity and Ability." (16)

Some observers were less approving but just as clear in defining audience. One such, perceiving that poets like Sidney and Spenser were not read while journalists (called news factors) were, inscribed the lines:

"... These Pamphlets, Libels, and Rymes,
These strange confused tumults of the minde,
Are growne to be the sicknesse of these times,
The great disease inflicted on mankinde." (17)

Another scolded booksellers for handling the "stinking garbadge" of the news mongers. (18)

Sales methods were vigorous and direct. The gaudy or descriptive covers were posted on whipping posts, on the walls of Inns of Court (19) and on the pillars in St. Paul's Churchyard (which, though a church, was so much a center of book sales and gossip that dramatist Ben Jonson speaks of an editor as being "True Paul's, bred in the church-yard." (20)

Publishers also used street hawkers, a practice decried by a poet as the hiring of "some Herring-cryer for a groat/ To voice it up and down with tearing throat." (21)

Because the front pages doubled as advertising sheets, they usually boasted big type or an eye-catching woodcut. Titles were long by today's standards, but enticing. What buyer could resist "The Strangest Adventure that ever happened either in the ages passed or present" (22) or an account of how a man "poisoned his wife in the strangest manner that ever hitherto hath been heard of"? (23) Superlatives extended to reports on the high born, as in the relation describing "the most glorious Marriage that ever was seene in the world." (24) Sometimes, publishers lured buyers with details. Londoners hungry for news on the siege of Ostend were offered a pamphlet "Conteining the Assults, Alarums, Defences, Inventions of Warre, Mines, Counter-mines and Retrenchments, Combats of Galleys, and Sea-fights, with the portrait of the Towne: And also what passed in the Ile of Cadsant, and at the siege of Sluice after the coming of the Count Maurice." (25)

The woodcuts used on covers often were crudely done but graphic, as in the case of the illustration of the assassain of Henry IV of France being drawn to pieces by horses. (26) One pamphlet recounting a bloody murder was even printed in two colors. The book is titled "The Bloudy booke of The Tragicall and desperate end of Sir John Fites (alias) Fitz," and the corpses depicted on its cover are "plentifully beslubbered with red." (27)

In terms of seeking a mass audience, such typographical approaches to sales are far more advanced than the newspapers that came after them. Thus they represent a convolution in the presumed ever-upward evolution of print journalism.

The subjects dealt with in the pamphlets, taken as a whole, also reflect news judgments several rungs above the early newspapers. If one categorizes the pamphlets listed in Collins' Handlist, the results resemble a modern-day mix of news:

--Crime (14 percent).

--Oddities, wonders and portents (8 percent).

--Travel, exploration and exploits (8 percent).

--Natural disasters (4 percent).

--Wars, sea battles, piracy (29 percent).

--World and national politics (17 percent).

--Value-driven "exposes" and warnings (9 percent).

--Pomp and pagentry, coverage of royalty (8 percent).

--General news collections or pamphlets of undetermined subject matter (3 percent).

Publishers engaged in hoaxes just as the penny-press editors did, though at this distance in time it is hard to separate the deliberate hoax from simple credulity. A sampling of titles:

--"The most true and strange report of A monstruous fishe that appeared in form of A woman from the wa(i)st upward Seene in the Sea." (28)

--"TRUE AND WONDERFULL, a Discourse relating A STRANGE AND MONSTROUS SERPENT, OR DRAGON, lately Discovered and yet living to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson." (29)

--"A myraculous, and monstrous discourse of a woman in the midst of whose fore-head there groweth out a crooked horn." (30)

--"The wonderfull Battell of Starelings (starlings) fought at the Citie of Corke in Ireland, the 12. and 14. of October last past. 1621." (31)

Without insisting on scholarly fine points, one can at least point to a likeness between these offerings from the twopence press and the "Moon Hoax" genre of the penny press.

To further compare, the pamphlets' emphasis on gore and criminality foreshadows James Gordon Bennett's interests, which historians usually illustrate by citing his handling of the Ellen Jewett murder case. Although no Elizabethan pamphleteer engaged in murder investigations as Bennett did, they used details designed to appeal to the same audience taste as did Bennett and his peers.

The account of the execution of a witch in Germany illustrates all too clearly:

> ...the woman (being placst betwixt her two Sonnes) had both her Brestes cut off; with the which Brestes, her Executioner stroke her three times about the face; and in like manner her two Sonnes, who satt on each side of her were likewise beaten about the face with their Mothers Brestes three times apiece. This beeing done in the presence of many people, the Woman had sixe stripes given her with a Whip of twisted Wier: and after, had both her armes broken

> with a Wheel, and then set in a settle made of
> purpose: her body was immidiately burnt.(32)

The pamphlets are laced with such specifics, telling us much about the audience -- and about the culture itself. In fact, the pamphlets serve as a laboratory in which one can observe how culture helps shape journalistic form and content. Sometimes the pamphlets seemed to be more of a sermon wrapped in news than a news account, and almost all of them moralized to one degree or another. The writer of an account of a fire at Saint Edmondsbury, for example, devotes the first four of his 13 pages to a discourse on how such afflictions "are but meanes to remember us our place, state and danger." (33) Such an approach puzzles the modern reader. The only journal article devoted to English pamphlets published in the last ten years takes that question as its focus. Titled "Sensationalism and Moralizing in 16th and 17th-Century Newsbooks and News Ballads," the article suggests that social wounds caused by evils such as murders needed patching with "moral platitudes" and that readers perhaps needed "some form of mediation" to make a bloody deed fit their world view. (34) Although one can never prove motives, a simpler and more "journalistic" explanation can be offered: The sermonizing was the why for the story. In the Elizabethan Age -- Sir Francis Bacon's rationalism notwithstanding -- God was running the world, day to day. He demanded upright behavior and punished individuals and societies that flouted His will. Examples of this world view abound in the literature. Scottish reformer John Knox, for example, predicted Scotland would be visited by a great plague if

Queen Mary were not put to death. (35) As a London preacher put it, The cause of plagues is sin, if you look to it well; and the cause of sin are plays; therefore the cause of plagues are plays." (36) Just as modern journalists, then, go to psychologists and social scientists for their whys, so the Elizabethan journalists went to religion. A pamphlet recounting how the Devil (in the shape of a headless bear) thrust a woman's head between her legs and in that hoop shape rolled her down the stairs of her home, explains the event and the purpose of publishing it this way: "We have to consider by this strange discourse how redy Sathan is to take hold on us if we fall from God never so little." (37) What today would be call moralizing was to Elizabethans an explanation.

While the world view was markedly different, the techniques for gathering and presenting news resembled that of New York in the 1930s. In the pamphlets, one can find the beginning of conscious news gathering, of journalistic story form and a journalistic writing style. Before touching on these points, it would be well to explain how news was gathered and that place that journalism held in the world of publishing.

In London in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the roles of publisher, printer and bookseller often overlapped. In some cases, the printer also was the publisher and entrusted the distribution of the pamphlets to a bookseller. In others, the bookseller also was the publisher, and the printer was hired on a job basis. Sometimes the publisher hired a printer and arranged for a bookseller to move his product. (38) There was no such thing as an editor, though sometimes a "corrector" was employed, as evidenced by the lines in a period drama: "Whatever befalls thee, keepe thee from the trade of the corrector of the presse. ... Would it not grieve any good spiritt to sit a whole moneth nitting over a lousie beggarly pamphlet ... ?" (39)

Often, publishers played a passive role, letting news come to them and accepting it as written. If they came upon a news-laden private letter worth printing, they usually left in the salutations and personal references. Other than letters, a publisher might choose to translate a foreign pamphlet or accept a manuscript written by a participant in a newsworthy event.

These were among the normal patterns, but there was another more pertinent to this article. Publishers sometimes arranged for coverage of an event or sought out sources who could contribute to a story. In others, judging from context, a writer interviewed participants to put together a story.

A relation published in 1622 by Nathaniel Butter must have required the interview technique, and it illustrates the state of journalism at this period in others ways as well.

The pamphlet's subject matter rates high in reader interest. A ship named the Jacob had been captured by Turkish pirates near Algiers, and its passengers and crew were marked for slavery. The relation tells how "foure English youths did valiantly overcome 13 of the said Turks, and brought the Ship to S. Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turks for Gally-Slaves." (40)

The story form, the level of reporting, and the perceived audience all deserve comment. Unlike many other relations that open with a sermon, the writer announces that in order not to "delay the Readers expectation with impertinent stuffe, I will here relate briefly and in succinct and plaine manner, the strange and true deliverance of a ship and foure English Mariners." (41)

A sample of the writing:

> The 4 captives would be "debard for ever from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eat the bread of affliction in the Galleyes all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, to have their heads shaven, to feed on course diet, to have hard boards for beds, and which was worst of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly word and Sacraments. ... thus being quite hopeless, hapeless, and for anything they knew, for ever helpless. (42)

For a sample of the reporting of details, there is this segment, relating what happened when one of the Turks, who had been knocked overboard, tried to climb back on deck:

> William Ling, lifting up the woodden weapon hee gave him such a palt on the pate, as made his brains forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the Sea." (43)

The writer ends with a "common man" touch, observing that had the sailors been of high rank, their deeds would have been celebrated throughout England. As it was, he writes, "these 4 rich caskets of home-spun valor and courage, have no pen to publish their deserved commendation, no inventors to emblazon their saltwater honor, but the poore lines and labours of a freshwater Poet." (44)

One can find many examples showing that journalists were out and about, pen and paper in hand, scrabbling for stories. One can almost hear the pen scratching when reading the following description of the scene aboard the ship of the Danish king, come to pay a state visit in 1606 (the passage has been abridged):

> Upon the toppe of the Poope stood about foureteen trupeters, besides drummers, al in white Hats with bandes imbroadered with golde, white satten Doublets, laide with silke and silver lace: their hose of velvet, and layd with silke and silver lace: their Cloakes of blew cloath, garded about with five or sixe gards of velvet, and laid on with silke and silver twiste: their Trumpets all silver and fayre guilt ... (45)

Another pamphleteer, John Savile, gives readers a description of his reporting methods in a pamphlets describing the entertainment for King James at a stopover en route from Scotland to assume the crown as king of England:

> ... wee understood his Majestie to bee within the compasse of three quart-

> ers of a mile of the house, at which tidings wee divided our selves into three parts, each one taking a place of special note, to see what memoriable accidents might happen within his compasse, one standing at the upper end of the walk, the second at the upper end of the first court, the third at the second court dore; and we made choice of a gentleman of good sort, to stand in the court that leads into the hall, to take notice what was done or said by his highnesse to the Nobilitie of our land, or said or done by them to his Majestie, and to let us understand of it, all which accidents as they happened in their severall places, you shall heare in as few words as may be ... (46)

One can also find examples of pamphleteers performing feats themselves, to give them material for publication. One performed a morris dance all the way from London to Norwich, and another made his way from London to Edinburgh and back "not carrying any money to or fro, neither Begging, Borrowing, or Asking Meate, drinke or Lodging." A third rowed from London to Kent in a paper-bottomed boat. (47)

Publishers often served as editors, combining reports and seeking updated information. The title page of a 1601 account of the siege of Ostend informs readers that the news had been "dilligently collected out of sundry Letters and advertisements, as have beene from Zeland, Callice, and other places lately received." Cited are crew members of a Dutch ship that had been to Ostend, a British soldier just returned from the besieged city, and a Frenchman who had just arrived in England London from Calais.(48) A pamphlet printed as a report on the Gunpowder Plot includes King James' speech to Parliament ("as neere his very words as could be gathered at the instant"), an account of the plot against him, and a segment reporting the examination of some of the suspects in the case. (49)

Publishers also showed initiative in rushing their pamphlets out on the streets. Under law, all printed matter had to be registered in the Stationer's Register and approved for publication. In cases of scheduled news events, publishers often entered a work before it actually could have been written. John Wolf entered a description of Queen Elizabeth's state entry into London before the event in 1588, and registration for a pamphlet describing the queen's funeral also predated the event.(50) When Elizabeth's successor, James, arrived in London, publisher Thomas Man (the younger) used presses from five printers to run off sheets of a pamphlet, and the pages were then assembled in one office.(51)

In some cases, publishers were prompted to hurry their publications into print because of the competition. For example, Queen Elizabeth's funeral provided matter for 17 pamphlets and ballads. (52) The war against the Catholic League in the Low Countries also serves as a barometer of coverage. Collin's

Handlist shows that 36 pamphlets on the war were issued between 1590 and mid-1592 (53). That volume can be explained by the citizens' hunger for news of the campaign. As one pamphlet writer put it, "I know you in England expect newes with everie happie winde: and happie be that winde which brings you good news." (54)

All the foregoing has been offered to provide a glimpse of the state of journalism before the advent of the periodical press. While perhaps no one made a fulltime living as a print journalist, London nonetheless had its news gatherers and news publishers -- men who knew news was a commodity, because, as a poet in 1622 observed, "men are so apt for to inquire,/And after rumours have so great a desire." (55) An anti-press proclamation issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1601 decries the "great multitude of base and loose people" who spent their time "listening after news and stirres and spreading rumours and tales." (56). That the government was concerned is yet another indicator of the activeness of the press, though it must be added that it didn't take much press activity to concern rulers of the seventeenth century.

Having outlined the state of pamphlet journalism, this paper has arrived at what Mattias A. Shaaber called "the grand anticlimax of the early history of journalism in England." (57) Shaaber used the term anticlimax because the news pamphlets had "nothing to do, directly, with the origin or form of the first English newspaper." (58)

Shaaber, whose 1929 book on pamphlets remains the authoritative work on the subject today, pointed out that first

English newspapers had their roots not in England but the mainland of Europe. He wrote:

> But the first English newspaper was almost entirely a translation of news-reports from abroad; its form was their form; and although its sources have not been traced, there is every likelihood that it also borrowed the idea of appearing weekly from the early weekly newspapers of the Netherlands and Germany. (59)

Of course the news pamphlet and the newspaper were not completely isolated one from the other, a fact easiest shown by pointing out that Nathanial Butter, called "the father of the British newspaper," (60) was also the publisher of some 50 news pamphlets. (61) But it is not in their influence but in their semi-isolation that news pamphets hold their greatest interest. They provide historians with a little pocket of study, a Brigadoon hidden away in microfilm and brittle-paged Victorian reprints. Born of their own conditions, aimed to their peculiar audience, set in their own unique time, the pamphlets can help us understand what is universal about the news business and what is culturally embedded.

Causes for any development are easy to suggest, but hard to confirm. One can say that it was clever men who came up with the idea of tailoring news for the masses. Such a one could name Day and Bennett in the New York of the 1830s or Butter and John Wolfe in the London of the 1600s.

One can point to economics. Day is said to have been prompted to start his penny paper to offset a downturn in his business, and Shaaber attributes some of the growth of news pamphlets in Elizabeth's reign to a like cause: Because there were too many printers, they turned to ballads and pamphlets to keep money coming in. (62).

Events also help shape journalism: the Thirty Years War and the American Civil War are both said to have contributed to the growth of journalism. As an eighteenth century seller of books observed:

> The best time for book-selling is when there is no kind of news stirring; ... I have often experienced that the report of a war, or the trial of a great man, or indeed any subject that attracts the public attention, has been some hundreds of pounds out of my pocket in a few weeks. (63)

The lifestyle and character of the public, including their economic status and level of literacy, are part of the mix of forces as well. But was the Jacksonian Democrat more attuned to events than an Elizabethan -- or an eighteenth century colonist, for that matter?

One can make as strong a case for news being, as Ben Jonson called it in his play, a "staple" -- a commodity that appears when a population of a sufficient size has sufficient funds to pay for its production. In accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, one reads of Londoners' "itching eares" for news, (64) one sees the center aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral peopled by newsmongers, gossips, gay blades and bright, young apprentices exchanging fact and rumor, (65) and one learns from pamphleteer Thomas Churchyard how his "pen is always occupied in such matter as the time bringeth forth" to "please the multitude." (66)

Such evidence suggests that in the interweaving of historical forces and conditions, the nature of news is the constant element in the shifting equation. It is, as a pamphleteer observed long ago, news that feeds "ye thirsty desyer, that all our kynde hath to knowe." (67)

END NOTES

Note: Bibliographical information for many pamphlets cited is taken from *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, A. W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave et. al., editors (London: The Bibliography Society, 1986). The pamphlets themselves are largely contained in the microfilm series *Early English Books to 1640* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms).

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The Evolution of a Practice

Investigative Journalism 1960-1975

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The Evolution of a Practice:
Investigative Journalism 1960-1975

Social and cultural factors in post-World War II America encouraged the re-emergence and development of modern investigative reporting, which became a distinctive journalistic genre, similar in many ways to conventional news reporting, but also quite different. As MacIntyre (1981) has argued, a practice -- such as investigative journalism -- develops as practitioners carry out the goals of the practice.[1] Practices have goods internal to themselves, and these internal goods help define the individual practices.[2] Practitioners strive to obtain their practice's internal goods and reach to extend the standards of excellence established for the practice.[3] In the process, if the practitioners are virtuous (truthful, courageous, concerned about justice, and conscious of tradition), the practice continually refines itself, defines itself, and progresses.[4] To tell the history of a practice, MacIntyre instructs, one must describe the development of the relevant technical skills *and* the evolution of standards and values.[5] To understand the evolution of modern investigative journalism during the years 1960 to 1975, then, one must examine the internal development of the practice, paying specific attention to the technical skills and the standards of excellence and internal goods established by the practitioners themselves. An evaluation of the experience of the practitioners is necessary.

This paper looks at investigative journalism as a "practice," rather than as product, using a methodological approach suggested by by Pauly (1991) and Stevens and Dicken-Garcia (1980).[6] The central focus of such a study is the identification of technical skills, values, and standards held by practicing journalists. In addition, Lambeth (1992) has argued for use of the MacIntyrean social-practice paradigm as a methodology for studying journalism's development in such a way that values and standards of excellence become central to the study.[7]

Standards of journalism in the nineteenth century in relation to the perceived role of journalism were explored by Dicken-Garcia (1989), and the standards of journalism during the 1970s and 1980s have been explored in the form of media criticism by Goldstein (1985).[8] And Gans (1980) has identified values held by journalists.[9] But little has been written on the values and standards of a particular segment of journalists, particularly investigative journalists, during an important developmental period for the specialty. Some research has approached this subject, however. The values of the early twentieth-century muckrakers have been explored by Evensen (1989).[10] And Miraldi (1990) has looked at objectivity's effect on modern investigative journalism.[11] Protess, *et al*, (1992) consider standards of investigative journalism in the context of studying investigative journalism's impact on public decision-making.[12] Williams (1978) and Benjaminson and Anderson (1990) indirectly consider standards of excellence of investigative journalism when outlining the techniques of the craft for journalism students.[13] In addition, Campbell (1991) connects values to news construction in investigative reports aired on the CBS news magazine *60 Minutes*.[14]

However, this paper has a more specific purpose. It examines an important aspect of the development of modern investigative journalism by looking at how practicing investigative journalists carried out the practice and how they defined the values, standards of excellence, and goals of the practice during the years of re-emergence, 1960-1975. It consciously connects the application of the virtues identified by MacIntyre -- courage, justice, honesty, and a sense of tradition -- to the conception of the values (internal goods) and standards of excellence established by investigative journalists by the mid-1970s.

This paper uses source materials, including published case studies, interviews (published and unpublished), news stories, magazine profiles, and other contemporary accounts of investigative reporting during the 1960s and the first five years of 1970, years which represent the period in which modern investigative journalism emerged.

The specific questions asked are "What skills were in place for investigative journalists by 1975?" "What standards of excellence developed from 1960 to 1975?" "How did practitioners define the internal goods of the practice?" and "How were the virtues, values, and standards interrelated during this crucial time for the development of investigative journalism?"

The definition of investigative journalism used for this study is the one that dominated the practice during the 1960s and early 1970s, namely that investigative journalism is the application of investigative techniques (including detailed interviews, search of public and private records, and analysis of data) to a reporter's own research into an issue of public and current concern, the specifics of which someone or some entity wants to keep secret.[15] Often, this involved the revelation of corruption, graft, malfeasance, misfeasance, or incompetence.

Methods and Skills of the Practice

From 1960 to 1975, investigative journalism was re-emerging and seeking to create a niche for itself within the general practice of journalism. Consequently, it was a time of experimentation in the use of various methods and development of important skills. The methods and skills of modern investigative journalism were established during this initial phase. Methods were tried and evaluated, accepted or rejected. Skills, including interviewing and document searches, were identified and nurtured that would allow the practice to mature and remain viable. Many of the methods used, such as team-reporting and undercover work, were adaptations or refinements of methods used in earlier expose reporting.[16] Some, including persistence, digging for covered-up facts, and organization of an investigation, were evident in earlier muckrakers and reform journalists but were improved on by practitioners of modern expose reporting. A few of the methods, including computer-use and polygraph tests, were introduced during this time period because new technologies became available.

Investigative reporter Bruce Locklin has argued that modern investigative reporting differs from the muckraking tradition in that the modern version of investigative journalism involves "systematic investigative reporting," whereas muckraking involved distillation and interpretation of already-known information.[17] And, indeed, there was an attempt during the late 1960s to develop a systematic investigative reporting methodology. Working at the American Press Institute in Reston, Virginia, in the late 1960s, J. Montgomery Curtis, Ben Reese (former editor of *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*), John Seigenthaler (of the *Nashville Tennessean*), and Clark Mollenhoff (of the Cowles papers) developed checklists for investigative reporters and blueprints for investigative reporting that could be applied to studies of government or private institutions, offices, or agencies.[18] Mollenhoff described the system in a 1976 article:

> It involves an analysis of the history of the agency, its purposes, and a study of how those purposes are being advanced from a standpoint of possible conflicts of interest and the administration of its laws and regulations. It comes complete with a check list for the investigative reporter, so he doesn't forget any areas of potential mismanagement or corruption.[19]

The system became the basis for a series of investigative reporting seminars sponsored by API beginning in 1968 and was expanded upon by journalism educator Paul Williams in a 1978 textbook, *Investigative Reporting and Editing*.[20]

After interviewing 99 investigative reporters and editors in the mid-1970s, Williams provided one of the earlier models of investigative journalism methodology. He began with the premise that investigative reporting "is an intellectual process."[21] Investigative projects, consciously or unconsciously, proceeded through several stages, Williams observed, from conception to publication. At several points along the way, evaluations were made.[22] Protess, *et al*, would make a similar conclusion more than 10 years later that investigative reporting involves "highly distinctive processes" that take considerable time, include implicit or explicit normative appeals, and involve inductive generalizations from specific facts to larger social issues.[23] Throughout the process, investigative reporters and editors constantly reevaluate their conception of the story. While it could be argued that much of this process is also regularly done during routine daily news reporting, the emphasis on original research, the framing of the story as being a comprehensive look at a public problem, and the delay of key interviews until most of the research is completed separate investigative journalism from routine news reporting.

A review of four investigative projects that were published or broadcast during the early 1970s serves to explicate the methods of modern investigative journalism. The four projects spotlighted here were chosen because analyses were published about them and because they represent the range of methodologies used from 1960 to 1975. The projects are:

– The heroin trail project published by *Newsday* in 1973. It won the Pulitzer Prize for meritorious public service in 1974.[24]

– The investigation of police brutality in Chicago by the *Chicago Tribune* in 1973.[25]

– The study of the Philadelphia criminal justice system by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1972.[26]

– The 1972 investigation by the *Chicago Tribune* of voter fraud in Chicago, which won a Pulitzer Prize for local reporting.[27]

Each of these investigations pushed the methodology of investigative journalism beyond previous limits.

The heroin trail project was a triumph for the team-reporting approach pioneered at *Newsday* by Bob Greene. It also expanded investigative journalism into the international arena.

Greene founded *Newsday*'s investigative team, the first permanent-assignment investigative reporting team in U.S. history, in 1967. The architecture of the *Newsday* team was copied later by other newspapers and broadcast news operations. The Boston *Globe*, for example, studied the *Newsday* team organization before setting up its Spotlight Team in 1970.[28] The *Newsday* team has its own office and secretary and members of the team answer to no one in the newsroom except Greene, who closely coordinates the reporting and editing.[29]

To report on the flow of heroin into Long Island, *Newsday* sent Greene and two associates, Knut Royce and Les Payne, to the poppy fields of Turkey in June 1972. They interviewed villagers and opium processors and observed the initial phase of heroin production. From Turkey, team members went to France, to investigate how opium gum was processed into heroin and smuggled out of Europe. Other *Newsday* reporters reported the story from the United States, interviewing law enforcement officials, drug dealers, and drug users.[29]

Before embarking on the fact-gathering portion of the investigation, Greene and other team members spent two months reading extensively about the heroin problem, interviewing selected sources about drug smuggling, and developing contacts for their international visits. They took a crash course to learn the fundamentals of the Turkish language. And they mapped out a detailed plan for the investigation, including devising a cover for themselves as being on assignment to write travel articles for *Newsday*.

Newsday spent more than $100,000 on the heroin trail investigation. Its reporters did original research, interviewing hundreds of sources in 13 countries in person, examining hundreds of pages of official documents, and presented a complete picture of the heroin problem from the poppy fields of Turkey to the arm of a Long Island addict. The project took six months to complete.[30] The methods employed included team reporting, personal interviews, document searches, deception (Greene posed as a lawyer while in France), collection of evidentiary photographs (Greene took Polaroid photos of poppy seeds, among other things), identification of drug dealers by name, use of insider informants (in the qualitative research sense of finding someone knowledgeable who can help set up interviews and provide guidance for the researcher), and presentation of massive amounts of evidence to prove their accusations (the final version of the report consisted of thirty-two parts and was so long it had to be edited down when it was published as a book).[31]

To investigate police brutality in Chicago, the *Chicago Tribune* team of George Bliss, Emmet George, Pamela Zekman, and William Mullen sifted through evidence of more than 500 cases of reported police abuse, eventually selecting thirty-seven to present to the public in their eight-part series.[32] Spending five months, the team questioned at length hundreds of alleged victims of police violence and hundreds more who claimed to be witnesses of abuse. Thousands of police, court, and medical documents relating to charges of brutality were examined. In addition to talking to the people who accused the police of abuse, the reporters also talked to the police officers accused of the violence. The *Tribune* paid for polygraph tests to be administered to both victims and accused police officers as an additional verification of the veracity of the sources. The result was a series that gave numerous examples of police brutality, often telling the victims' tales in narrative form, backed up by stories written in the more conventional expository form. The examination of each individual case amounted to a mini-investigation. Each case was thoroughly researched and documented. Each had its own "key interview" when the offending police officer was confronted with the evidence. At every step, the decision to use the case had to be re-examined. The articles concluded that the police department's internal investigative division was ineffective and that "police brutality can happen to anyone, that it is not reserved for blacks, the poor, or the so-called radicals."[33]

In Philadelphia, reporters Barlett and Steele used a computer to analyze data from more than 1,300 individual criminal cases in order to tell the story about the administration of justice in Philadelphia courts. The reporters, who mastered the skill of document use, scrutinized indictments, bail applications, court hearing summaries, police complaints, prior arrest records, psychiatric evaluations, probation reports, hospital records, trial transcripts, sentencing records, defendant's backgrounds, prison records, and other public records.[34] They painstakingly collected more than 100,000 pieces of information about the cases and the defendants, had the data transferred onto more than 9,600 IBM computer cards and fed them into a computer.[35] After analyzing the data, the reporters interviewed crime victims, judges, prosecutors, defendants, and defense lawyers.[36] They discovered that in Philadelphia courts, justice was not blind. Building on the innovation of Philip Meyer's computer analysis of survey data for the *Detroit Free-Press*' study of the 1967 Detroit inner-city riots, the success of the *Inquirer* series and its use of computer analysis of public documents became an example for other investigative reporters.[37]

When the *Chicago Tribune*'s team of investigative reporters decided to investigate voter fraud in Chicago in 1972 by going undercover, the paper had already experimented with clandestine investigations. Two years previously, team member William Jones had posed as an ambulance driver for two months to investigate the private ambulance companies in Chicago.[38] Later, team members Pamela Zekman, Jones, and two other reporters got jobs working undercover inside nursing homes to see first-hand how patients were treated.[39] In 1971, the team used surveillance techniques to investigate waste and mismanagement in Cook County government.[40] Building on the experience of these earlier investigations, the *Tribune* task force placed seventeen *Tribune* staff members and eight outside investigators as Republican election judges and poll watchers in order to study voter fraud in 1972. In addition, team leader George Bliss carried out surveillance on one polling place from the outside.[41] The resulting series revealed multiple voting, voting machine tampering, and cash payments to voters, in addition to other abuses, all to the benefit of the city's Democratic politicians.[42] Prior to beginning their undercover work, the reporters mailed registered letters to a sampling of 5,495 voters in precincts where voter fraud was suspected and thereby were able to prove that about 13 percent of the registered voters were dead or never existed.[43]

Undercover investigations were not new to investigative journalism. In 1971, Clarence Jones of WHAS-TV in Louisville, Kentucky, used a camera hidden in a lunch box to investigate walk-in bookie parlors and after-hour liquor sales for eight months.[44] But because the *Tribune*'s voter fraud series won a Pulitzer Prize, it became an example for other investigative reporters and temporarily legitimized the controversial use of undercover work. The controversy came to a head by 1978, however, when the *Chicago Sun-Times* was denied a Pulitzer Prize for its Mirage Bar series detailing corruption among city employees precisely because undercover techniques and hidden cameras were used.[45]

Newsday's heroin trail investigation, the expose of police brutality in Chicago, the study of the Philadelphia court system, and the revelation of voter fraud in Chicago all serve to show the breadth of methodology applied by investigative journalists by the mid-1970s. These case studies reveal that investigative reporters developed the skills necessary for:

-- Conceptualizing stories at a systemic level, concentrating on patterns of abuse, illegalities, and corruption rather than focusing on a few wrong-doers;

-- Conducting tough interviews with targets of their investigations;

-- Organizing, correlating, and evaluating massive amounts of information and sifting through thousands of documents;

-- Interviewing hundreds of sources for an individual story or series;

-- Analyzing with computers otherwise unmanageable amounts of data;

-- Persisting in an investigation over months of inquiry, even when faced with what appears insurmountable odds, such as following up hundreds of leads to find information and develop evidence;

-- Collecting evidence that people and institutions want to keep hidden, even if it means reporters must do surveillance or undercover work;

-- Verifying the truth of evidence, such as through the use of polygraph tests in the police brutality series;

-- Cooperating in teams to allow routine investigations that go beyond the scale that individuals could handle alone.

These skills allowed investigative reporters to carry out the practice. But how they applied the skills and for what purpose requires examination of what internal goods (values) were being sought and what standards of excellence were established.

Virtues, Goods, and Standards

MacIntyre (1981) explains that a healthy social practice is one in which the practitioners apply the virtues of courage, justice, honesty, and a sense of tradition as they reach toward the practice's standards of excellence in their pursuit of the practice's internal goods.[46] Lambeth (1992) suggests three time-tested principles for journalists in addition to the MacIntyrean virtues. He adds the principles of freedom, humaneness, and stewardship to the virtues of courage, justice, and honesty.[47] Internal goods, MacIntyre asserts, are those goods that relate to the virtues and that partially define the practice.[48] Their achievement is a good for all who participate in the practice.[49] They are opposed to external goods, which are those goods derived from outside the practice as a personal benefit for doing the practice, and they are the rewards the institutions of a practice strive for and dispense.[50] For journalists, the external goods include money, fame, social power, and prestige.[51]

The statements of investigative journalists and commentators from 1960 to the mid-1970s reveal the virtues, standards of excellence, and internal goods for the practice of investigative journalism as perceived by those involved in the practice during that time period. What is found by such an examination is that by the mid-1970s there was a certain level of maturity in the practice of investigative journalism. A recognition of the virtues and principles, an understanding of the standards of excellence, and a perception of the internal goods were all in place by 1976, when the service organization Investigative Reporters and Editors was founded. The following chart summarizes these virtues, standards, and internal goods:

Investigative Journalism Practice

1960-1975

Virtues (Principles)	*Standards of Excellence*	*Internal Goods*
Courage	Confronting the powerful	Telling the whole story

Justice

Honesty

Sense of tradition

Freedom

Humaneness

Stewardship

Showing independence

Documentation

Thoroughness

Follow-up

Vividness

Perspective

Reporting on matters of public importance

Truth-telling

Originality

Impact

A close examination of the *Chicago Tribune*'s 1973 series on police brutality in Chicago, which won the 1974 Pulitzer Prize for local reporting, focuses the discussion of how virtues, standards of excellence, and internal goods were established within the practice of modern investigative journalism by the mid-1970s.

The *Tribune*'s report on police brutality towards citizens of Chicago ran in a six-part series in November 1973. It involved the paper's Task Force investigations team, headed by veteran investigative reporter George Bliss. Other members of the team were Pam Zekman, William Mullen, and Emmet George. Discussing the series after it ran, *Time* magazine described it as "probably the most thorough examination of police brutality ever published in a U.S. newspaper."[52]

According to the published series, the *Tribune*'s investigation was prompted by a concern that the Chicago Police Department's internal affairs division (IAD) was not adequately responding to complaints of physical and verbal brutality leveled by citizens against individual police officers.[53] In 1972, IAD had sustained 29 cases of abuse out of 827 it had received. As of November 1973, it had sustained 8 percent of the complaints it had received. At the same time, the newspaper and numerous community organizations and civic leaders were receiving thousands of complaints that the police department allegedly was not investigating, according to the paper's published account.[54] Information about widespread police brutality that the police department was failing to correct would be of public benefit. A statement published later by *Tribune* publisher Stanton R. Cook pointed out that what the paper was after were the "few policemen [who] have abused their powers and the rights of citizens they are sworn to protect."[55] The paper's position was consistent with Dygert's requirement that investigative journalism "promote reform, expose injustice, enlighten the public" as well as discover "why an institution doesn't do its job."[56] It also met the test proposed by investigative journalist Gene Cunningham of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* that investigative reporting concentrate on "telling the public something it should know -- it must know -- and otherwise wouldn't."[57] The purpose of the *Tribune* investigation, in other words, was to achieve the journalistic internal good of reporting on a matter of public importance.

By choosing the subject it did, the *Tribune* team met the standard of confronting the powerful (the police department) and consequently had to display the virtue of courage. The series points out that some alleged victims refused to talk to the reporters for fear of retaliation by the police, and Zekman related in a later interview that police officers were often aggressively defensive about the questions the reporters would ask.[58] In addition, getting interviews with alleged victims or with witnesses to brutality also demanded courage, Zekman pointed out. The reporters often had to seek out people who lived in tough sections of Chicago and Zekman said she and others did not know whether "people would quietly submit to questioning or shoot us."[59] As Dygert observed in his book about investigative journalists in the mid-1970s, "treading on the toes of a community's power structure . . . takes real courage."[60]

The *Tribune* reporters also sought the other investigative journalism internal goods of telling the whole story, truth-telling, originality, and impact. Telling the whole story meant looking at the range of accusations of police abuse -- not just one or two cases, but 37 out of 500 cases selected for investigation to show that abuse was happening to all kinds of people, "that it is not reserved for blacks, the poor, or the so-called radicals."[61] It also meant including the stories of those who were accusing the police department as well as the stories of the police officers who were accused. It meant investigating more than just that abuse was going on, but also what the police department was doing about the allegations of abuse and what was not being done but what could be done to stem the brutality. It meant not writing one article, but a series that included 38 articles and sidebars. As investigative reporter Jack White of the Providence, Rhode Island, *Journal-Bulletin* told an interviewer in the mid-1970s, "Perhaps the most satisfying thing is that when you're done . . . you are able to say to people: 'This is the whole thing.' When you can give people the whole story in one package or a series, they really understand it."[62]

By telling the whole story and by giving all sides and looking at the various angles involved, the *Tribune* reporters exhibited the virtue of justice. They were concerned about the injustice of the brutality; and they also were concerned about being just to those they reported on. Also, they carried out their investigation employing the virtue of humaneness, wanting to prevent harm to innocent civilians and wanting to prevent harm to those they reported on. And they diligently sought fairness. As publisher Cook explained, a newspaper must be "a spotlight on our system" and it must be both tough and fair, "and at the *Tribune*, we take great pains to be both."[63]

Truth-telling also was a primary objective for the *Tribune* reporters. "We knew that each complaint we used in our series had to be perfect," Zekman recalled later. "If the police department found one hole in any single account they would drive a truck through the whole series."[64] The reporters acknowledged that some of the people who had complained about police brutality "were lying, trying to mask their own wrongdoing by making false charges against the police."[65] But they found others who were telling the truth and "what emerged was a pattern of brutality by some policemen that could not be ignored."[66] By exposing that some complaints were bogus, the reporters exhibited the virtue of honesty. "It takes a real gut desire to get at the truth," as investigative reporter Ronald Kessler of the *Washington Post*, explained to an interviewer. "It goes beyond a professional interest in getting good stories. It takes a drive to find out what's really going on."[67]

By striving for the standards of thoroughness and documentation, they sought to guarantee truth-telling. They met the standard set forth by Lewis H. Lapham, who in 1973 wrote that "the gathering of information can be a tedious process, but the relevant facts can be found if a man will search diligently enough among the available records, if he will talk to a sufficient number of people, and if he will work out the implications of his evidence."[68] As Ted Driscoll of the Hartford, Connecticut, *Courant*, explained to an interviewer in the mid-1970s, accusations by investigative journalists must be backed up by solid research. A reporter must talk to sources on both sides of the issue to verify complaints and must pull together documentation. "When you write that the [paper] 'has evidence of widespread instances . . ..' it must mean just that."[69]

Like other investigative journalists who helped set the standard that a journalistic investigation must involve the search of numerous public records and interviews with dozens, if not hundreds, of people,[70] the *Tribune* reporters examined thousands of documents -- starting with 500 written complaints to the IAD provided to Bliss by an inside source[71] -- and interviewed hundreds of people who complained of brutality or were witnesses to brutality.[72] In a later interview, Zekman relates her experience of trying to document one woman's accusation that a police beating led the woman to have a miscarriage.[73] Zekman said she spent considerable effort to get an interview with the woman's doctor, who agreed the beating could have resulted in a miscarriage -- had the woman been pregnant. The doctor explained that the woman had come to him for a pregnancy test, but had not returned for the test results, which were negative. In addition, the *Tribune* team extended the standard of documentation by requiring at the paper's expense that alleged victims and some police officers pass polygraph tests administered by an independent polygraph firm with a national reputation.[74]

The internal good of originality also was sought by the *Tribune*. Original work was not clearly established by 1973 as a good associated with investigative journalism, but it quickly became so. *Life* magazine had built a reputation for investigative reporting during the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the exposure of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas' acceptance of a $20,000 annual fee from a foundation associated with a convicted criminal whose case would come before the Supreme Court. William Lambert, the magazine's chief investigative reporter, also exposed in 1970 Maryland Senator Joseph Tydings' failure to provide full disclosure of his financial assets.[75] But the investigations by *Life* were criticized by some investigative reporters. Robert Walters, a freelance investigative journalist, argued that the stories *Life* was publishing were not investigative reporting because the exposes did not result from original work by the reporters, but came instead from leaks by prosecutors who were unable to complete their investigations sufficiently for prosecutions.[76]

The standard of originality, however, eventually developed through criticism and self-examination by practitioners such as Walters. By the mid-1970s, Bob Greene of *Newsday* could confidently assert that the "essence" of investigative journalism is that it is the reporter's own work.[77] Reporters at the *Chicago Tribune* clearly accepted the standard of originality when they set out to investigate police brutality. They did not accept the findings of the IAD that most accusations of abuse were unfounded. And they were not content to simply repeat the accusations of "bar associations, federal study groups, and respected police organizations" who had offered "scathing criticism of half-hearted brutality investigations."[78] Instead, showing independence from the police department and other institutions, the reporters carried out their own investigation, interviewing victims, witnesses, police administrators, police department critics, and police officers, and searching public records for evidence. The reality of police brutality became "clear to the reporters" because the reporters had conducted the investigation.[79] Moreover, in carrying out an independent investigation, the *Tribune* editors and reporters were continuing a tradition of the paper and of journalism generally, according to publisher Cook. The brutality investigation "typifies the kind of tough, thoroughly-researched investigative reporting which . . . has won the *Tribune* two Pulitzer prizes in the past three years," Cook asserted. And, he said, it "illustrates the kind of commitment that a responsible metropolitan newspaper should make to its city and people."[80]

Investigative journalists by the mid-1970s did not agree on the importance of an investigation's having impact on a community. The *Washington Post*'s Ronald Kessler, for example, argued that it was dangerous for a reporter to push for reforms beyond laying out the facts of a problem.[81] Kessler conducted the investigation and presented his findings. "It's not my business what happens afterwards," he argued.[82] But others clearly saw the need for impact and argued that following up an investigation with questions about whether reforms were being made must be a standard of excellence for the practice. Clark Mollenhoff of the Cowles papers, for instance, always followed his investigations with demands that changes be made. "If you want to be effective in this business, you've got to follow through," he argued.[83] *Boston Globe* investigative reporter Gerard O'Neil told an interviewer that his most rewarding story was an investigation of fraudulent vocational schools because "it did the most good. It brought the biggest response . . . which can be the investigative reporter's best measurement [of success]."[84] And Downie (1976) began his book about investigative reporting by admiringly listing the numerous changes that investigative journalism had wrought. Pointing out that Bob Woodward and Carl

Bernstein helped topple President Nixon's corrupt administration, that Seymour Hersh helped turn around public opinion about the Vietnam War by reporting on the My Lai massacre, and that William Lambert's reporting on Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas led Fortas to resign from the court, Downie concludes that "journalists have not had such a telling impact on the country's affairs since the brief golden age of the original 'muckrakers' just after the turn of the century."[85]

At the *Chicago Tribune*, there is no evidence that the investigative team began its study of police brutality with a goal of effecting change, but it can be inferred that impact was a good being sought. For example, the series included interviews with law enforcement experts about how police brutality can be curbed, providing suggestions for change.[86] The series also provided perspective on the brutality, first by exposing it as a problem, then by suggesting how the police department had failed to control the brutality, including the revelation that a nationally recognized psychological screening program for new officers had been systematically eliminated by the department.[87] Further, the paper followed up the series with reports of reactions to the investigation's findings. An afterword included in the paper's reprint of the series listed the various responses from the city, the police department, the state legislature, and other institutions.[88]

The standard of vividness in reporting the findings of the investigation also contributed to the *Tribune*'s wanting to make an impact. It was recognized among investigative journalists that the way in which one told the story was an important factor in producing an expose that catches people's attention. "Major projects are massive and intricate, but they are of little use if the reader can't understand and digest them," investigative reporter K. Scott Christianson advised. "The writer must know how to build and keep the reader's interest, structuring it in a manner which allows it to intensify until the last tumultuous day [of the series]."[89] The cases of brutality detailed in the *Tribune*'s series sought to achieve vividness. They were reported in narrative form, telling short stories of police violence against individual citizens. The stories used a mixture of dialogue, graphic detail, chronological structure, irony, and other literary devices to help tell the individual stories. One of the stories began with ironic detail and observation:

> Harold Williams couldn't believe he had violated any traffic regulations when two policemen in a squad car pulled him over at 19th Street and Kostner Avenue.
>
> He was right. They had stopped him because they couldn't see the city vehicle tax sticker on his windshield.
>
> It was 10 p.m. Oct. 16, 1971, and Williams, 44, of 237 N. Long Av., was alone in his car, driving home.
>
> He never got home that night. . . .[90]

Another story added dialogue to its chronological description of events:

> Bennye [Moon] screamed at Winfield, "That's my son. Oh, my God, don't hit my son."
>
> [Officer] Winfield swung his revolver and hit Bennye across the face, shattering her lower left jaw. She started to sag to the street and grabbed his lapels to keep from falling. . . .
>
> "Get out of here, bitch," Winfield told Diane [Bennye Moon's daughter].
>
> "That's my momma," she protested, but Winfield pulled her up by her maternity shirt and hit her in the mouth. . . .
>
> "I'm hurt," she moaned. "I'm bleeding."[91]

In addition, the series was complemented with photographs of the victims, some of which showed the effects of the abuse.

Shortly after the series was published, according to City Editor Bill Jones, phone calls and letters poured into the newsroom and did not stop for several weeks. "The series obviously had struck a delicate chord in the public," he said.[92] In addition, several police officers were indicted on criminal charges, new programs and policies were introduced in the police department, and an independent citizens council was created to investigate police brutality complaints.[93]

The *Tribune* reporters and their editors had carried out the investigation of police brutality responsibly, according to publisher Cook, who commented after the series ran in a manner that suggests the principles of freedom and stewardship had guided the paper's work. Lambeth (1992) points out that freedom includes the concept of autonomy, or independence, and stewardship involves acting in such a way that the freedom of the press and America's free society are maintained.[94] "Today, more than ever before," publisher Cook said,

> a newspaper must be a spotlight on our system because only the press has the resources, energy and staff to examine such wide-ranging and complex stories as this [investigation of police brutality]. . . .It must practice professional investigative journalism, but it must do so in a responsible manner. . . . Fairness breeds trust. And trust, the public's belief that a newspaper makes every effort to be fair, is the life's blood of a free press.[95]

Clearly, the *Tribune*'s publisher saw the need for journalists to operate in such a way that social and individual freedoms were protected. In addition to their publisher's observations after the fact, the individual reporters and editors who carried out the investigation and put its findings in the paper applied the virtues of freedom and stewardship during the investigation. They did this by working to achieve the recognized internal goods of investigative journalism (reporting on matters of public importance, telling the whole story, truth-telling, originality, and impact); by striving for the standards of excellence established by investigative journalists (confronting the powerful, showing independence, documentation, thoroughness, vividness, perspective, and follow-up); and by applying the other recognized virtues and principles (courage, justice, honesty, humaneness, and sense of tradition).

Conclusion

By 1975, investigative journalism had evolved into a mature, viable practice that was part of, but distinct from conventional journalism. It had developed technical skills for investigating public issues and had established clear standards of excellence. This development and evolution occurred because practitioners, for the most part, applied the MacIntyrean virtues of courage, justice, honesty, and a sense of tradition in their pursuit of clearly defined internal goods -- goods that partially defined the practice of investigative journalism.

Use of the MacIntyrean social-practice paradigm has provided a better understanding of how investigative journalists perceived their craft, how they carried out their craft, and how ethics related to the advancement of journalistic craft during these crucial years of 1960 to 1975, when investigatory journalism re-emerged in the mainstream American journalism.

One area that remained unresolved was the use of deception and undercover techniques in the reporting of news. This was an obvious deviation from the virtue of honesty. However, it would be several years before the implications of using deception and undercover techniques were worked out. The internal goods of telling the whole story and truthful reporting were certainly advanced through use of these techniques. But the long-term ramifications of deceiving the public and news sources remained unexamined by practitioners during these 15 years.

And yet, MacIntyre points out that a practice's goals and its conception of the internal goods and the standards change over time.[96] The evolution of a practice is a process that occurs through self-examination, self-evaluation, and self-criticism. Clearly, the basic skills, definition of goods, and standards of excellence had been worked out for investigative journalism by 1975. While the practice would continue to evolve and its definition of goods and standards would continue to develop, the practice nevertheless was well established by the mid-1970s.

Notes

[1] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, 176-177.

[3] *Ibid.*, 175.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 180-181.

[6] John J. Pauly, "A Beginner's Guide to Doing Qualitative Research," *Journalism Monographs*, 125, February 1991, 4; John Stevens and Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), 15-70.

[7] Edmund Lambeth, *Committed Journalism: An Ethic for the Profession* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1992), 72-82.

[8] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989); Tom Goldstein, *The News at Any Cost: How Journalists Compromise Their Ethics to Shape the News* (New York: Touchstone, 1985), 153-259.

[9] Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 39-69, 182-213.

[10] Bruce J. Evensen, "The Evangelical Origins of the Muckrakers," *American Journalism*, 6:1 (1989), 5-29.

[11] Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990).

[12] David L. Protess, *et al.*, *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America* (New York: Guilford Press, 1991).

[13] Paul Williams, *Investigative Reporting and Editing* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978); Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson, *Investigative Reporting* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990, 2nd Ed.).

[14] Richard Campbell, *60 Minutes and the News: A Mythology for Middle America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

[15] James H. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist: Folk Heroes of a New Era* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 147, 273.

[16] For a discussion of team investigations during the muckraking era and earlier, see Warren T. Francke, "Team Investigation in the 19th Century: Sunday Sacrifices by the Reporting Corps," paper presented to the History Division, AEJMC annual convention, 1988, Portland, Oregon. For a brief history of undercover reporting, see Tom Goldstein, *The News At Any Cost: How Journalists Compromise Their Ethics to Shape the News* (New York: Touchstone, 1985), 133.

[17] Bruce Locklin, "Digging Without a Shovel," *Nieman Reports*, Spring 1985, 51.

[18] Clark Mollenhoff, "Investigative Reporting: The Precarious Profession," *Nieman Reports*, Summer 1976, 39.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Williams, *Investigative Reporting and Editing*.

[21] *Ibid*, 22.

[22] *Ibid*, 14. The general outline, according to Williams, was: Conception; Feasibility study; Go/no-go decision; Planning and base-building; Original research; Reevaluation; Go/no-go decision; Key interviews; Final evaluation; Final go/no-go decision; Writing and publication.

[23] Protess, *et al.*, 215.

[24] The series was reprinted as *The Heroin Trail* (New York: New American Library, 1974). It is discussed in Downie at 262 and Dygert at 108-113. See also, Robert F. Keeler, *Newsday: A Candid History of the Respectable Tabloid* (New York: Arbor House, 1990), 508-524; and "Newsday Tells How Drugs Get to Long Island," *Editor and Publisher*, February 10, 1973, 61.

[25] The series, which ran in November 1973, was issued by the *Chicago Tribune* as a reprint, "Police Brutality." For a discussion of the investigation, see Dygert, 129-130; and Behrens, 224-226.

[26] The series is discussed and reprinted in Philip Meyer, *Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979, 2nd Ed.), 366-389; for further discussion, see Steve Weinberg, *Telling the Untold Story: How Investigative Reporters Are Changing the Craft of Biography* (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 111-112.

[27] The series, which ran in March 1972, is discussed in Dygert, 125-126; Williams, *Investigative Reporting and Editing*, 102; and in "How Voting Frauds Were Uncovered by Chi Tribune," *Editor and Publisher*, May 26, 1973, 55.

[28] Dygert, 133.

[29] For details on the *Newsday* team's structure and operations, see Williams, 163; and Dygert, 108-117.

[30] Dygert, 108-113; Keeler, 508-524; and "Newsday Tells How Drugs Get to Long Island," 61.

[31] Keeler, 521.

[32] "Police Brutality," series reprint, 2.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Dygert, 120.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Weinberg, 112.

[37] *Ibid*; and Meyer, 366-689.

[38] Dygert, 126-127.

[39] *Ibid*, 128.

[40] *Ibid*, 129.

[41] *Ibid*, 126.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid*, 166-167.

[45] For a detailed discussion of the Mirage Bar investigation and the issue of investigative reporters' working undercover, see Goldstein, *The News At Any Cost*, 128-151; for a discussion of the investigation, see Zay N. Smith and Pamela Zekman, *The Mirage* (New York: Random House, 1979).

[46] MacIntyre, 175-179.

[47] Lambeth, 23-34.

[48] MacIntyre, 178.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Lambeth, 73.

[52] "Police Brutality," 45.

[53] *Ibid*, 2.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] "Police Brutality," 1.

[56] Dygert, 147.

[57] Behrens, 84.

[58] *Ibid*, 224.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Dygert, 273.

[61] "Police Brutality," 2.

[62] Behrens, 212.

[63] "Police Brutality," 1.

[64] Behrens, 226.

[65] "Police Brutality," 2.

[66] *Ibid*.

[67] Dygert, 72.

[68] Lapham, "Sacred Cow," 44.

[69] Behrens, 99.

[70] Examples include the heroin trail investigation by *Newsday*, *op cit.*; the Philadelphia court study by Barlett and Steele, *op cit.*; *Newsday*'s investigation of the relationship between President Nixon and "Bebe" Rebozo, discussed in Dygert, 114; Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); and the investigation of police corruption in Indianapolis by the Indianapolis *Star*, discussed in Dygert, 233-236.

[71] Dygert, 130.

[72] "Police Brutality," 2.

[73] Behrens, 226.

[74] "Police Brutality," 2.

[75] Dygert, 172.

[76] *Ibid*, 177.

[77] *Ibid*, 116.

[78] "Police Brutality," 2.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] "Police Brutality," 1.

[81] Dygert, 69.

[82] *Ibid*.

[83] *Ibid*, 48.

[84] Behrens, 186-187.

[85] Downie, 7-8.

[86] "Police Brutality," 43-44.

[87] *Ibid*, 2.

[88] *Ibid*, 45-46.

[89] Christianson, 15.

[90] "Police Brutality," 12.

[91] *Ibid*, 20-21.

[92] *Ibid*, 45.

[93] *Ibid*, 45-46; see also "Chicago's Rogue Cops," *Newsweek*, April 23, 1973, 48.

[94] Lambeth, 29 and 32.

[95] "Police Brutality," 1.

[96] MacIntyre, 180-181.

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The Re-Emergence of American Investigative Journalism

1960-1975

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Presented to the Qualitative Studies Division, AEJMC annual meeting, August 1993, Kansas City, MO.

The Re-emergence of American Investigative Journalism 1960-1975

Journalism historians, textbook writers, and other researchers have commented on the re-emergence of American investigative journalism in the latter half of the twentieth century (*e.g.* Miraldi, 1990; Protess, *et al*, 1991; Downie, 1976; Williams, 1978; Glasser, 1987; Schudson, 1978; Patterson and Russell, 1986; Boylan, 1986; Benjaminson and Anderson, 1990).[1] However, there has been little attempt to examine *why* investigative reporting gained a new foothold in journalism during this time period. A popular explanation is that the success of the Watergate investigations by the *The Washington Post* and others, in addition to the perceived impact of other investigative reports such as Sy Hersh's My Lai massacre expose, led to the re-emergence of investigative journalism in America.[2] Boylan (1986) provides the added explanation of the press's break with government, particularly over perceptions of the Vietnam War.[3] Baughman (1992) suggests the emergence of television contributed to the rise of investigative journalism in the print media -- an explanation that does not explain its rise in the electronic media.[4] Lewis (1992) suggests that the Supreme Court decision in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) had something to do with it.[5] But comprehensive analysis of why investigative journalism re-emerged during the 1960s and 1970s in America has not been done. Reasons for its re-emergence have been limited and superficial, mainly because they have been based on narrow interpretations of the cause of journalistic developments.

Moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre (1981) suggests that to understand the progression of a social practice, one must look at not only the development of technical skills, but also the ways in which practitioners conceptualize the goals and internal values of the practice.[6] Carey (1989) instructs the researcher that "news is a historic reality," in that it evolves at a particular time in history, created by specific people for specific reasons.[7] And Stevens and Dicken-Garcia (1980) point out that "time boundaries should be treated as part of the context, not as causal variables."[8] In other words, in order to understand the emergence of a particular news form, one must look at the social/cultural milieu that surrounded its development.

To understand the emergence of investigative journalism into the mainstream American press during the 1960s and early 1970s, then, requires examination of a combination of factors. When that is done, it is clear that social and cultural forces (including values, standards, ideas, and technology) shaped the journalistic milieu that contributed to an emphasis on aggressive, investigatory journalism. This paper argues that social and cultural developments changed the role of journalism, or at least one aspect of journalism, in America, and that consequently led to new standards for journalists.

This paper, using a descriptive methodology, will examine three broad, parallel developments that contributed to the emergence of modern investigative reporting in the United States during the decades after World War II:

-- The social and cultural upheaval that included the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War, and growth of a general distrust of institutions and government.

-- A demand that the press be more responsible to society and more of a watchdog toward government that grew out of the development of modern press theory and out of a series of press law rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court.

-- New technologies, particularly television, and new statutes passed in response to the freedom of information movement, both of which encouraged more investigatory journalism.

Investigative journalism seemingly burst upon America's collective consciousness with the publication in 1974 of *All the President's Men* and the book's production into a popular 1976 movie.[9] The book and movie chronicled the exploits of *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, whose persistent digging into what has become known as the Watergate scandal helped keep public pressure on Congress and other Washington institutions and eventually resulted in driving Richard Nixon from the White House.[10] While the book and movie overemphasize the role of the press in the resolution of Watergate and the forcing of Nixon's resignation, they nevertheless helped foster a myth that investigative journalists were the new American heroes.[11]

Publication of Bernstein and Woodward's tale and the resulting movie, in which Hollywood stars Dustin Hoffman and Robert Redford played the leading roles, made the term "investigative reporter" a household word in America. It also inspired more newspapers and broadcast news organizations across the nation to do investigative reporting and prompted hundreds if not thousands of young people going into journalism.[12] But a careful reading of the social and cultural developments from the 1950s to the 1970s shows that the evolution of modern investigative reporting did not start with Watergate. In fact, investigative reporting during Watergate, in many ways, was the product of a natural evolution of journalism over at least 20 years. Bernstein himself recognized this during a seminar on the impact of Watergate on American journalism when he downplayed the uniqueness of his and Woodward's efforts:

> . . .I think it's very important that people understand that the reporting that we did was not that extraordinary. In fact, we used the most basic empirical reporting techniques similar to what you first learn when you go down to police headquarters. We knocked on a lot of doors. We started with sources at the bottom -- secretaries, file clerks, executive assistants -- and we worked up, rather than starting with supposedly knowledgeable people who might have axes to grind or things to hide.[13]

The reporting of Watergate carried on a tradition of public affairs reporting of an investigative nature that most journalists trace to the famous muckrakers of the early 20th Century.[14] It was nurtured by a few reporters, most notably Paul Y. Anderson of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and Drew Pearson in Washington, through a slack period from 1920 to the early 1950s.[15] And it was brought back into some level of popularity among journalists by a host of social and cultural developments that began in post-World War II America. The Watergate reporting, in fact, was in many ways the apogee of a tradition of investigative reporting of a type that would eventually evolve into modern investigative journalism.[16]

The Socio-cultural Dimension

Two social/cultural factors dominated America in the 1950s: prosperity and the Cold War. Both affected the role of the press.

The United States emerged from World War II in control of the world militarily and economically. The culture of consumption which had begun by the late 19th Century reached maturity by 1950.[17] Material abundance appeared to offer the solution to all of society's ills. Historian and journalist Godfrey Hodgson, author of *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why*, explained:

> The answer to the riddle (of progress) -- or so thoughtful Americans in the late 1940s and 1950s thought with startling unanimity -- lay in abundance: not in mere volume of production but in a system that would perpetuate prosperity and at the same time guarantee political harmony by distributing the consumption of goods so lavishly that it would not seem urgent to distribute them equally. . . . Social conflict could be made irrelevant, obsolete.[18]

The American media, principally through advertising but also through their news and entertainment offerings, promoted this idea of progress-through-consumption.[19]

In national and international news reporting, the press paid homage to the power structure in Washington, continuing the press-government cooperation established during the World War on behalf of the war effort.[20] Speaking on the "ideals and duties of journalism" during a 1943 symposium at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, editor and publisher O.J. Ferguson, then president of the Missouri Press Association, pointed out that

> [p]eople must be taught to keep their feet on the ground. Foolish notions, dangerous theories, constantly threaten. . . . In the opportunity for the free interchange of opinion which our newspapers afford lies the chance for welding the American people into a harmonious whole. It is the high privilege of the American press to take the lead in promoting many of those activities without which success in the field of battle would be difficult if not impossible.[21]

He went on to express the hope that the self-censorship and restraint by the press during the war would continue after the war to "force out the unwholesome details of crime, divorce and scandal" and convince the media that they "are not community mendicants."[22]

After the Japanese surrender ended the war in 1945, another front immediately opened: anti-communism. The mass political hysteria that ensued during what has become known as the McCarthy era further caused the media to rally 'round the government, if for no other reason than to prove the patriotism of publishers and broadcasters.[23] Radio and the emerging television news organizations faced constant oversight by advertisers and government regulators.[24] And among print journalists, "relatively few regarded themselves as more than notetakers."[25]

In addition, the news media of the late 1940s and early 1950s worked within a cultural atmosphere that precluded their taking an aggressive stance against government. Emerging from World War II prosperous and secure, Americans were confident of the future and trusting of the existing power structure that had led them to victory over Nazism and the Japanese.[26] Historian Allen J. Matusow points out that "the distinguishing feature of the post-World War II era was its remarkable affluence."[27] This abundance of wealth, Matusow asserts, eased social and class tensions, encouraged consumption and "underlay the celebration of American life in the Eisenhower years and the optimistic conviction of liberals in the decade following that most American problems could and would be solved."[28] In such a cultural milieu, he continues, intellectuals "rallied to the defense of America" and as they did so, they "retreated from their role as critics of society."[29]

During this period, reporting of an investigatory nature was rare, kept barely alive by a few mostly iconoclastic or radical muckrakers who stoked their professional fires with memories of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell and others from the Progressive era, of Paul Y. Anderson, who exposed the Teapot Dome scandal during the 1920s for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and of the long tradition of crusading journalism that was all but stomped out during the Great Depression and World War II.[30] Most failed to find an outlet for their work in the mainstream press. An exception was Drew Pearson, whose syndicated column "The Washington Merry-Go-Round" used rumor, opinion and leaks to hammer away at those of whom he disapproved within the established power structure in Congress and the executive branch. Some, such as Matthew Josephson and John Steinbeck (who used fiction for his muckraking in the tradition of Upton Sinclair), were able to work for reforms through books.[31] But most had to seek out the alternative press, or started their own small publications. Heywood Broun, McAlister Coleman, Lewis Gannett, Fred J. Cook and Louis Adamic published exposes in opinion journals like the *Nation* and *New Republic*.[32] (Cook, for example, turned to the *Nation* for publication of his exposes after the newspaper he worked for, the *New York World-Telegram*, refused to print them.[33]) George Seldes and I.F. Stone founded newsletters in order to get their reform messages to the public.[34] Most of the mainstream press, on the other hand, maintained a bland observer role for itself with few exceptions.

But the complacency and uncritical trust of government and other social institutions would be shattered during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, creating what Matusow has called "The Unraveling of America." Several specific events, in addition to more general cultural and social developments, chipped away at the thin facade of consensus cultivated during the Eisenhower era and awakened, particularly in the press, a questioning, often cynical response to the prevailing wisdom of those in power. And as Boylan (1986) remarks, "the great surprise, in retrospect, is the speed with which the bedraggled, victimized press of the 1950s came to see itself as an apparently potent, apparently adversary press in the 1960s."[35]

While the 1950s perception of social harmony -- prompted by America's victory in World War II and by a consumerism culture -- was criticized throughout the decade by leftist intellectuals and the counterculture Beats, it was the civil rights movement more than any other single factor that forcefully challenged the notion that 1950s America was trouble-free.[36] The forced integration of the Little Rock, Arkansas, schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Rosa Parks' refusal to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, four young black men ordering cups of coffee at a Greensboro, North Carolina, Woolsworth's store, and the Freedom Riders seeking the end of integration on interstate buses, followed by voter registration drives and other rights-seeking activities throughout the South, changed the relationship between Americans and their governments and also changed the definition of news.[37] The civil rights movement not only raised questions about the ability of government to maintain social order and the integrity of American institutions, but also turned social justice issues into daily news stories for both the print and the broadcast media.[38]

An even more humbling event for journalists during the late 1950s was the coverage of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, the Wisconsin Republican who manipulated the press's commitment to objectivity in order to generate publicity for his demagogic ends. The media's deference to governmental officials allowed McCarthy to spread lies and exaggerations about supposed communistic influences in American society. McCarthy made good copy for print as well as broadcast reporters and because he was a U.S. senator, editors published and broadcast his accusations. Rarely were the senator's charges challenged. His statements were published without evidence to support his ever expanding conspiracy theory because of the press's commitment to objectively cover what officials were saying, and also because of preconceived Cold War notions among editors and publishers that even if McCarthy were exaggerating the issue, the issue was legitimate.[39] As Boylan (1986) points out, "McCarthy was a news diet of choice."[40] Eventually, McCarthy's house of cards collapsed and his lies were exposed. The *coup de grace* may have been Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" segment questioning the truthfulness and integrity of the senator, but his defeat was more political than journalistic.[41] McCarthy's attack on the U.S. Army was a step too far, causing the Senate and the executive branch to marshal their political forces to defeat him. The press was embarrassed by its lackluster performance and angered that it had been duped. The relationship between government and the press was severely damaged.[42]

Trust in government and other social institutions by the American people generally and by the press specifically weakened during the late 1950s. During the early 1960s, it collapsed. One disillusionment after another culminated by 1968 into a "credibility gap." In 1960, President Eisenhower lied to the American people about CIA agent Francis Gary Powers and the U-2 surveillance plane he was flying across the skies of the Soviet Union. When the Soviets shot down the spy plane, Eisenhower said it was a meteorological flight that inadvertently strayed from its true course. Khrushchev proved otherwise.[43]

In 1961, President Kennedy asked the press to downplay stories of an impending invasion of Castro's Cuba by C.I.A.-trained Cuban exiles and then, after the invasion's failure, confessed that more aggressive press coverage could have prevented the U.S. government from experiencing the international blunder. Even so, a Kennedy administration state department official would argue that a government has the right to lie to its people to protect national security, expanding the government's credibility problem.[44]

In 1964, corruption by the respected Sen. Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut, shocked the nation. Dodd was a powerful member of the Washington establishment. But his foibles were revealed by muckrakers Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson in a series of syndicated columns, leading to his censure by the U.S. Senate.[45] The fact that the Dodd scandal was exposed by investigating journalists working with leaked documents, rather than by government investigators, suggested further that the governing establishment could not be trusted to enforce ethical standards on its own members and upgraded the importance of aggressive reporting.

The Dodd affair was a national example of what reporting that dug beneath the surface could do. But it only elevated to the national level a type of reporting that was proving successful locally. While certainly not dominating American journalism, reporting of an investigatory nature became more common from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. While the examples were of a limited nature, they undoubtedly helped create an audience for muckraking by questioning the trustworthiness of politicians. Clark Mollenhoff of the *Des Moines Register* and, later, the Cowles Publications Washington bureau, exposed police corruption in Des Moines in the 1940s and early 1950s, tax scandals in the Truman Administration in the early 1950s, Teamster Union corruption in the mid- to late-1950s, and isolated instances of corruption in the Eisenhower administration.[46] Robert Collins, first at the Atlanta *Journal* and then at the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, built a career during the late 1940s and the 1950s of exposing corruption, writing about bootleg liquor sales, prostitution, illegal gambling, and political malfeasance.[47] And in 1959, the Utica, N.Y., *Observer-Dispatch* won a Pulitzer Prize for exposing political corruption in Utica.[48]

But the watershed for the nation and for journalism was the Vietnam War and the "years of discord," as historian John Morton Blum calls the 1960s and early 1970s, that ensued.[49] The war disillusioned Americans about the role of the United States in international affairs and whether politicians in Washington could be trusted to tell Americans the truth about foreign *and* domestic policies.[50] It also spawned a counterculture and radicalized a generation.[51] And it devastated the relationship between the press and government and caused a split between editors and reporters over the extent to which management should dictate the content of news stories.[52] The journalistic result was a new appreciation for on-site, behind-the-press-release, direct-observation reporting.[53]

The impact of the Vietnam War on American society and culture, and on its journalism, has been documented.[54] Historians' conclusions about the war's effect on U.S. society and culture are stark. The expense of the war drained America's economic resources that were sorely needed at home for social reform programs; the questioned morality and purpose of the war diminished America's moral resources. An observation by historian Jim Heath in his 1975 history of the 1960s summarizes the conclusions of many historians who have written about the war's effects on American society:

> [A]fter eight years of Democratic leadership under Kennedy and Johnson, the United States was being rocked by more dissension, tumult, and violence than at any time since the Civil War. Many of the accepted dogmas of American life were seriously questioned: the social and economic system, cultural values, the merit of technological expertise, New Deal-style liberalism, big government, and the whole concept of presidential power.[55]

Journalist/historian Godfrey Hodgson points out that between 1960 and 1972, "the legitimacy of virtually every institution had been challenged, and the validity of virtually every assumption disputed."[56] While the Vietnam War was not the only catalyst for the disruptions of the Sixties, it became the focal point of discontent. The Vietnam War was a symbol, to those opposed to it, of the deeper ills of American society.[57]

The counterculture and anti-war movement, including the New Left, that developed during the Sixties spawned a "golden age" of the underground and alternative press in America as leaders of the anti-establishment movements sought communication outlets beyond the mainstream media, which tended to ignore their concerns.[58] In addition, these movements brought new readers to small, traditionally alternative magazines such as *Nation* and *New Republic*, which were publishing muckraking and investigative reporting during the 1950s and 1960s. In their zeal to condemn establishment culture and policies, many of these publications, particularly during the late 1960s and early 1970s, turned to a radical brand of muckraking, which mixed fiery reform and revolutionary politics with investigative journalism. "The 'underground' press is, to some extent, trying to exploit what it regards as the general press' reluctance to engage in investigative journalism," Carey McWilliams, publisher of *Nation*, pointed out in 1970.[59] *Ramparts* magazine, transformed from a Catholic journal for liberals into a brash muckraking publication by Warren Hinkle in 1964, "was at the forefront of the revival of investigative journalism," according to Godfrey Hodgson.[60] It specialized in investigative stories about the Vietnam War and the civil rights and student movements. One of its biggest exposes was the revelation in March 1967 that the National Student Association was funded by the CIA.[61] An alternative news service, the Liberation News Service, provided perspectives and investigative reports about the Vietnam War and underground culture.[62] It also was the only outlet willing to disseminate investigative journalist Sy Hersh's first reports about the My Lai massacre.[63]

Moreover, the Vietnam War also transformed the mainstream media. Reporters covering the war from Saigon and the anti-war movement in the United States grew disillusioned with American politicians and generals. In Vietnam, what reporters were being told by the military's press agents and what they saw first-hand did not mesh. Faced with the facts, reporters such as Homer Bigart and David Halberstam of *The New York Times*, Malcolm Browne and Peter Arnett of the Associated Press, Neil Sheehan of UPI, Peter Kalischer and Morley Safer of CBS, and Charles Mohr of *Time* could not substantiate the rosy picture of American success and the survivability of the Diem government that the U.S. government wanted published, and that their editors and news directors wanted to see.[64] After the Tet offensive in 1968, when a major push by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong briefly overran American and South Vietnamese troops, the reporters in the field were vindicated, and American news media outlets became skeptical and critical of American policy.[65] The reporters in Vietnam, according to Halberstam, were "finding out the difference between theory and practice, between policy and reality, the difference between what was going on in the field and what the top brass said was going on, and *why* there was such a difference."[66] After Vietnam, the reporters who covered the war returned home cynical about institutions and governments to newsrooms more willing to accept their cynicism.

The Evolution of Modern Free Press Theory

The civil rights movement, the Joe McCarthy debacle, cases of governmental lying, revelations of official corruption and malfeasance and misfeasance, and the Vietnam War coverage all contributed from the mid-1950s to the late-1960s to a new role for the American press. Instead of being a partner of, or a cheerleader for, government, the press came to be seen as an antagonist of government. Social and cultural events forced journalists to question basic assumptions about press performance, values, and practices. Significantly, this self-examination was paralleled by theoretical writings about the press and the meaning of the First Amendment that, if their practical implications were recognized, gave further demands for a more aggressive, questioning, and active press.

The discussion of modern free press theory in America was framed as early as 1947 with the publication of *A Free and Responsible Press* by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, headed by University of Chicago President Robert M. Hutchins.[67] The free press theory aspects of the commission's report was expanded upon by commission member Zechariah Chafee Jr. in a separate volume, *Government and Mass Communications*.[68]

The commission was concerned that institutions in America, in particular the mass media, were failing to provide adequate information to the country's citizens. It was anxious about the trend of ownership concentration in the media and fearful that unpopular ideas could not get a fair hearing in the media of mass communication.[69] Hence, the commission -- and Chafee -- asserted that the media had an obligation to serve society and democracy. "Clearly a qualitatively new era of public responsibility for the press has arrived," the commission declared.[70]

To meet its responsibilities, the press, according to the commission, must:

1. Be accurate; and put the facts of events in a context so that they are meaningful.

2. Provide a forum for public discussion, even for ideas with which the media owners disagree. In connection with this, the media must provide "the names and the characters" of the participants in that discussion.

3. Provide information about all groups of society so that the views and contributions of all factions can be assessed.

4. Present and clarify the values and goals of American society as a whole. The media are forces for education, in other words.

5. Offer "full access" to information about public events. Print and broadcast the whole story and all stories.[71]

These are but broad generalities, of course. Neither the commission nor Chafee presumed to instruct the media on how to carry out these responsibilities. And yet, these guidelines suggest demand for a type of reporting that goes beyond the stenographic report of press conferences and rewrites of press releases.

The commission's ideas gained currency when they were published in the influential *Four Theories of the Press*, first published in 1956 by leading mass communication scholars Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm. By 1978, the book had gone through eleven printings and was widely used in journalism classrooms.[72] Set off against these scholars' interpretations of what they termed the authoritarian, libertarian and Soviet communist "theories" of the press, the "social responsibility" theory proposed by the Hutchins Commission was the clear winner. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, then, the idea that the mass media had a *duty* to report beyond the superficial hand-outs of those with social and political power gradually gained acceptance.

Closely related to the ideas of the Hutchins Commission was the position taken by Chafee's contemporary, legal scholar Alexander Meiklejohn, who argued in a 1948 book that the First Amendment should be interpreted to give absolute protection to speech and press of a political nature.[73] To Meiklejohn, the role of public communication was to help citizens govern themselves. Although Chafee criticized Meiklejohn for limiting First Amendment absolute protection to only political speech, the concept they shared was that public communication had a duty to be of public service.[74]

Theorist Thomas Emerson argued beginning in 1963 for a "system of free expression" interpretation of the First Amendment.[75] Under such an expansive interpretation, the right to speak and write freely, the right of free press in other words, would carry with it a collateral right to obtain information and other privileges, such as the right to protect confidential sources, that encourages a free press. He argued that it is the obligation of government to maintain a system of free expression in order to guarantee individual self-fulfillment, to provide a means for discovery of truth, to secure participation by the members of society in self-government, and to maintain balance between stability and change in society.[76] The system of free expression theory, Emerson argued, would necessitate shield laws and open records laws as means of maintaining the system.[77] These are tools, of course, that benefit and encourage investigative reporting.

The strongest argument for an aggressive and investigative press, however, came from legal scholar Vincent Blasi, whose "checking value" theory of the First Amendment directly assigns a role for the press as watchdog of government. While the concept was not new -- Blasi himself traced the checking value theory in United States press theory to James Madison and other framers of the U.S. Constitution -- its explication in a systematic way by Blasi gave it contemporary currency.[78] The role of the press in a democratic society, Blasi counseled, is to be a critic of government, to be a "fourth estate" capable of challenging the ideas and policies of those in political power. To Blasi, the press in a modern democracy is a surrogate for the public and therefore must go beyond reporting what those in power want disseminated. Like Emerson, Blasi argues for shield laws and open records laws. Emerson supported such laws to facilitate self-government. Blasi demands them so that the "professional critics" of government, including journalists, can have access to information needed to expose corruption by public officials.[79]

Blasi's interpretation of the First Amendment is reflected in the justification investigative reporter Jack Anderson gave in the mid-1970s for doing reporting that concentrates on the wrong-doing of public officials. Quoted in Behrens (1977), Anderson explained: "We must have a watchdog. We must have an independent watchdog, who is accountable to the people. We must have somebody who will keep an eye on government."[80]

The ideas of the Hutchins Commission, Chafee, Meiklejohn, Emerson, and Blasi had at best indirect influence on the working press. References to these theorists rarely appear in the memoirs and reporting of journalists. But the Supreme Court's decisions during this time, many of which quoted these legal theorists to justify rulings, did directly influence the working lives of reporters and editors. And none had more direct impact on investigative journalism than the 1964 Supreme Court decision in *New York Times v. Sullivan*.[81]

The facts of *Times v. Sullivan* are widely known.[82] L.B. Sullivan, a police commissioner in Montgomery County, Alabama, sued the New York Times and four Alabama clergymen for libel after the Times published a full-page advertisement that sought funds to defend Martin Luther King and to carry on the struggle for civil rights in the South. Although not named in the ad, Sullivan claimed he was libeled because he was in charge of police activities in Montgomery County and the ad implied that law enforcement in that county had abused the Rev. King and university students. The court's decision revolutionized press law in America.[83]

Not only did the *Times v. Sullivan* decision establish a higher standard of proof that made it difficult for a public official to succeed in a libel action, it also gave constitutional protection to political speech. The majority opinion, written by Justice Brennan, paid homage to the ideas of Meiklejohn and Chafee and presaged the writings of Emerson and Blasi. Kalven (1964), commenting on the case shortly after its decision was rendered, found that the court had used *Times v. Sullivan* to explicate what it believes to be the central meaning of the First Amendment, that democracy cannot function without the people's right and freedom to criticize government.[84] After *Times v. Sullivan*, Kalven argues, "it is not now only the citizen's privilege to criticize his government, it is his duty."[85]

While such commentary by Kalven and others provided academic justification for aggressive investigative reporting, the practical result of the *Times v. Sullivan* decision was to actively encourage such reporting. While libel remained a concern for publishers and editors, the press was obviously given an advantage. Justice Brennan specifically said in the decision that discussion of public issues was to be protected, even if the discussion includes mistakes, as long as "actual malice" is not involved.[86] In other words, reporting on public affairs can be critical, and indeed ought to be aggressive, as long as journalists do not publish falsehoods knowingly or that they should have known were false. Legal affairs reporter and commentator Anthony Lewis has argued that without the *Times v. Sullivan* ruling, "the rise of . . . investigative journalism would not have been possible if the old law of libel had still shielded officials from criticism."[87] As another author writing about investigative journalism has commented, the *Times v. Sullivan* decision "served to give an additional sense of assurance to newspapers. It began to be respectable and responsible, once again, to muckrake."[88] Alexander Meiklejohn said the decision was "an occasion for dancing in the streets."[89]

In addition to the *Times v. Sullivan* decision, the Supreme Court during this time period provided a plethora of decisions that effectively made aggressive reporting more acceptable, more protected, and more possible.

In libel law, a string of decisions was used to expand the *Times v. Sullivan* doctrine for further protection of the press. In *Curtis Publishing Co. v. Butts* and *Associated Press v. Walker*, the court extended the actual malice standard to public *figures.*[90] And the court applied the public figure test to a variety of people, some of whom were public employees and some who had acquired public status through their jobs or through their actions.[91] In 1971, the court went so far as to apply the actual malice test to private citizens in *Rosenbloom v. Metromedia*.[92] Although the *Rosenbloom* standard was eventually reversed in *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.* three years later, it for a time signaled to the press that libel would be of little worry to it. *Gertz* pushed back the standard, requiring that private citizens only show negligence to win libel cases.[93]

The growing aggressiveness of the press during the 1960s and early 1970s and its use of anonymous sources to report on anti-war protesters, counterculture figures, and revolutionaries, spawned a series of cases that challenged whether journalists had the right to withhold the identities of their secret sources as well as to withhold notes, tapes, and other materials collected during the reporting process. While absolute privilege has generally been rejected, the court went a long way to encourage news reporters that some protection is accorded their activities. In the controlling case, *Branzburg v. Hayes*, in which three cases were combined for a ruling, the court decided that forcing journalists to testify before grand juries about criminal activities of which they are aware is not unconstitutional.[94] However, the court explicitly stated that "news gathering is not without its First Amendment protections."[95] Indeed, Justice Stewart, in a dissenting opinion, stated that "a corollary of the right to publish must be the right to gather news."[96] He also laid out a three-part test that went far to protect journalists and which, by the early 1980s, had become accepted law. He stated in his dissent that before a journalist can be forced to testify, the government must first show that the journalist's information is "clearly relevant" to a criminal case, that the information sought from the journalist cannot be obtained from any other source, and that there is a demonstrated compelling and overriding interest in the information.[97] The court's actions, while not overwhelmingly in favor of protections for the press, were sufficient to provide some confidence to journalists. In 1972, *The Georgetown Law Journal*, in a survey of First Amendment law, optimistically declared that confidentiality of news sources was an "emerging constitutional protection."[98]

While privacy law has become a concern to the media in the 1990s, the Supreme Court's approach to false light privacy suits during the 1960s was beneficial to the press. The primary case was *Time Inc. v. Hill*, decided in 1967.[99] The Hill family had been the victims of a kidnapping in 1952 when escaped convicts held them hostage in their suburban Philadelphia home. Though treated well by their captors, a novel and a Broadway play based on the incident fictionalized some abuse and depicted the family as being heroic. *Life* magazine ran an article about the play implying heroics by the family, and Time Inc. was sued for invasion of privacy. After losing in the lower courts of New York, Time Inc. appealed to the Supreme Court, arguing that the *New York Times v. Sullivan* actual malice decision should be applied to the invasion of privacy suit. The court agreed. In so ruling, the court extended the actual malice test to discussion of matters other than political affairs so long as the matter under discussion meets a newsworthiness test, which *Time v. Hill* did. In essence, the court established the standard that people's privacy can be invaded for newsworthy purposes, a standard that still carries considerable weight.

A final area of the law that bolstered the press's position during this time period was the question of prior restraint. The leading case was *New York Times v. United States*, or what has come to be known as the Pentagon Papers case.[100] The Pentagon Papers comprised a classified history of the government's policy-making on the Vietnam War prepared for the Pentagon. A former consultant for the Pentagon, Daniel Ellsberg, leaked the documents to *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan in June 1971. The Nixon administration, after seeing the first installment of the papers published in the *Times*, asked a federal court for an injunction against further publication of the papers. A temporary injunction was issued by a New York federal district court. By then, however, the *Washington Post* had obtained copies of some of the papers and had begun publishing them as well. Government lawyers sought an injunction against the *Post* in a Washington D.C. district court and was turned down. When the *Boston Globe* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* each published an article based on the classified papers, the government sought and received restraining orders against them as well. Publications in the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Los Angeles Times* did not result in lawsuits.[101]

The *New York Times* filed a writ of certiorari with the Supreme Court to get the temporary restraining order against it lifted. The Supreme Court ruled that prior restraint, under certain limited circumstances, is constitutional. However, it said, the burden on the government to prove the need for such restraint is heavy, and the government had not met the standard in this case. It was a remarkable decision, given that the government had alleged publication of the papers would endanger troops fighting in Vietnam and would hinder peace talks under way with the North Vietnamese government. Such a ruling meant that the heavy presumption against the government in prior restraint cases would be almost impossible to overcome. In addition, in rendering the decision, Justice Black, with Justice Douglas concurring, forcefully defended the rights of the press in no uncertain terms:

> I believe that every moment's continuance of the injunctions against these newspapers amounts to a flagrant, indefensible, and continuing violation of the First Amendment. . . . In my view it is unfortunate that some of my Brethren are apparently willing to hold that the publication of news may sometimes be enjoined. Such a holding would make a shambles of the First Amendment.[102]

Justice Douglas, in his concurring opinion, made reference to the works of legal theorists Emerson and Chafee.

Later reflection on the decision by legal scholars and members of the press found less to be enthusiastic about, mainly because the court did not rule out the possibility of prior restraint in the future and also because the Black and Douglas comments were not supported by all other members of the court.[103] Yet, at the time, it was a heady experience for the press. The newspapers had stood up to the government at great risk and the courts had made the Nixon administration back down.

Although the victory gave the media new confidence in confronting the government, it was its embarrassment at what the Pentagon Papers showed that set the media's resolve to be more aggressive toward government. The classified documents showed how the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations had lied to the public about policies concerning Vietnam. As Ungar (1975) explained,

> the press had also learned that, if anything, it should be more bold and outspoken in digging behind official policy, both domestic and foreign; the Pentagon Papers showed how little the public really knew about the origins of the war in Vietnam. Newspapers were painfully aware, after the crisis was over, that they had been too cautious about printing government secrets, and the papers now seemed ready to reject the advice of conservative lawyers whose uncritical acceptance of government arguments was often not in the public interest.[104]

This is not to say that the media won all its battles in the courts from the 1950s to the early 1970s. While winning major concessions in the areas of libel, protection of confidential sources, privacy, and prior restraint, the press also lost many specific cases within each area. Actual malice was ultimately not extended to cases involving private individuals and the costs of libel suits, even when winnable, would soon become prohibitive;[105] privilege was not made absolute;[106] privacy law remained unsettled so that in later years it would loom as a major threat to press freedom;[107] the possibility of prior restraint was not eliminated;[108] and considerable restrictions were placed on broadcasters.[109] But in many ways it was an expansive time for the First Amendment. The Warren Court during the 1960s, in particular, extended press freedoms and protections. These advances in mass media law and First Amendment theory gave the press confidence and encouraged it to be more aggressive and investigative. Overall, the legal developments created an atmosphere in which investigative journalism could develop.

New Technologies, New Tools

By 1949, television had moved into the mainstream.[110] By the mid-1960s, it was the dominant form of mass communication.[111] From 1948 to 1956, the percentage of homes with television sets increased from 4 percent to nearly 65 percent.[112] While primarily an entertainment medium, TV also proved to be an effective news communicator, capable of covering some types of breaking news better than the print media. Its live coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954, CBS's Edward R. Murrow documentaries and "See It Now" programs, television's vivid portrayals of battles from Vietnam during the 1960s, and its dramatic coverage of the 1963 assassination of President Kennedy, among other programming, made the medium a first-rate contender in the news business. Baughman (1992) describes the phenomenon:

> Whatever TV's social effects, television had in less than a decade upset the republic of mass leisure. Many of those who had gone to the neighborhood movie house now stayed home. Families that in the evening had clustered around the radio now congregated before the home screen. Magazines and newspapers no longer drew the eyes of so many readers. TV was no fad. The light from the sets kept burning as competitors plotted ways to douse it.[113]

Some in the print media saw investigative reporting as a means of exploiting its primary advantage over television -- the ability to provide indepth, detailed coverage that could be clipped, saved, and pondered. Writing in 1970, *Nation* editor Carey McWilliams reported that "in general, both newspapers and magazines have begun to feel that muckraking or investigative journalism is a useful means of countering network news. . . . As it becomes increasingly difficult for the printed media to compete in 'hard' news, it is not surprising to note a new interest by some newspapers in investigative reporting."[114] Otis Chandler, the publisher of the Los

Angeles Times, saw this need for newspapers to change, to adapt to television's impact. Now that newspapers could not compete with television on breaking news, papers had to provide indepth coverage, he argued.[115] Some newspapers began digesting the routine news events in order to invest more heavily in investigative reports. Baughman (1992) summarizes the experience:

> Papers could escape the tyranny of news as nothing more than a string of events and analyze information in a more sustained fashion than any TV newscaster could achieve. . . . The digested format allowed the editors and writers more power to decide what to summarize and what to investigate.[116]

Obviously, not every newspaper moved in this direction, but television became one more encouragement to investigative journalism.

The technology of television pushed the print media to consider more indepth reporting while other, parallel developments provided the tools for doing such work. One of the more critical was the emergence of the freedom of information movement in the late 1940s, which led to new laws that guaranteed open meetings and open records.

Kennedy (1978) explains that the American Society of Newspaper Editors formed a Committee on World Freedom of Information late in 1948.[117] Despite its name, the committee's concentration was primarily on opening meetings and records in the "court houses, the state houses, city councils, school boards" and federal government of the United States.[118] When the committee started its work, there was no federal open records law and fewer than half the states had such laws, most of which were weak and ambiguous.[119] In 1953, Harold Cross, an attorney appointed by ASNE to research the status of government secrecy in the United States, published his influential study, *The People's Right to Know*.[120] It became the bible of the freedom of information movement.

The work of ASNE in this regard and the efforts of Congressman John Moss from 1955 to 1964 as head of a special House committee (later dubbed the Moss

Committee) to push for less secrecy in government led ultimately to passage of the Freedom of Information Act in 1967.[121] The act codified the belief that federal records should by definition be open to public inspection, unless officials could give specific reasons for their closure. Nine exemptions to disclosure were allowed.[122] The original act failed to prevent all government secrecy. Bureaucrats found ample loopholes and delaying tactics to thwart inspection of their documents. Consequently, the debate over open records continued into the early 1970s, eventually resulting in 1974 in important amendments to the 1967 law. However, the deficiencies and criticisms of the law notwithstanding, for the first time, probing reporters had specific tools for prying open government records.

In 1977, Congress further endorsed open government when it passed the Government-In-Sunshine Act, which required 50 federal agencies, commissions, boards, and councils to open their meetings to the public, and the press.[123]

Though slower to come and somewhat less sweeping, similar open records and open meetings laws were passed at state and local levels.

The work of investigative reporter Clark Mollenhoff, who testified before the Moss Committee on behalf of open records legislation, provides evidence of the benefit of the FOI act. Mollenhoff, Washington bureau chief for Cowles Publications, led a team of reporters during the late 1960s into a series of investigations of grain trading and practices of the U.S. food industry. The probes revealed malfeasance, conflicts of interest, and unethical practices and set off several Congressional investigations. Much of the information for the Mollenhoff team's articles came through skillful use of the FOI to gain access to government records.[124]

Two little-studied and usually overlooked technological developments from the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s that made investigative reporting more accessible are photocopiers and portable tape recorders. The FOI act, for example, provides for copying of documents, and it was possible for reporters outside of Washington to have copies of documents mailed to them. Photocopies of federal, state, and local documents, in addition to business documents were added documentation for an investigation and could be used to prove charges if the need arose. The use of documents became an important skill developed by investigative reporters by the 1960s and photocopying became an important means of managing the documentation. As mentioned earlier, one of the more sensational exposes of early modern investigative journalism was Jack Anderson and Drew Pearson's coverage of corruption by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd in 1967. Employees and former employees of the senator photocopied approximately 6,000 pages of documents from the senator's files and passed the copies to Anderson and Pearson. Without the photocopied documents to back up their charges, the reporters and their sources would have had their credibility destroyed by the aggressive counterattack mounted by Dodd and his supporters.[125]

The portable tape recorder, which appeared in economically available models during the mid- to late-1960s, allowed reporters to tape interviews without the awkward use of reel-to-reel, desktop players. The recordings improved accuracy and provided a verifiable record of an interview. They also made possible the taping of telephone calls and even surreptitious surveillance of conversations. While few discussions of journalism during this time period make mention of specific instances when a portable tape recorder was used and how that may have helped the reporter, their usefulness was touted in journalism texts and books on interviewing. Anderson and Benjamin (1976), the authors of one of the earliest texts on investigative journalism, included a chapter titled "Gadgets."[126] They describe various electronic devices available to investigative journalists by the mid-1970s, including wiretaps, bugs, pocket calculators, and cassette tape recorders. The authors describe the types of recorders and their possible uses:

> Obviously tape recorders can go places where a reporter can't, such as to secret meetings. Some reporters have given recorders to "friends" attending the meeting. . . . . When taping a conversation in which the reporter does not have the other's permission -- a practice which is legal in some states -- it may be a good idea to conceal the recording, even if the reporter is acting within the law. There are a number of ways to do this.[127]

They describe a tape recorder secreted in a brief case and another hidden in a belt.[128] The text goes on to discuss other eavesdropping devices and points out that "some reporters we know are already beginning to think in these terms."[129] While the ethics of such surreptitious surveillance remained to be worked out, the possibilities of it inspired some reporters toward investigations.

The most dramatic technological development during this time period, though, was development of the computer. While general use of computers in investigations would wait until development of the personal computer in the late 1980s, there was ground-breaking in computer-assisted reporting in the late 1960s. Philip Meyer, a member of the *Detroit Free Press* Washington bureau in 1967, was a pioneer in the use of social science methodology and computer analysis in the reporting of news. Applying the social science methodology he learned during a Harvard University Nieman fellowship, Meyer led a team of reporters in uncovering the story behind the story of the disastrous 1967 race riot in Detroit. In a sidebar to his main story, Meyer described the methodology used: "Interviews were taken from a random probability of 437 Negroes living in the main riot areas . . . An IBM 360 computer was used to cross-tabulate the responses and test their relationships for statistical significance."[130] The story's reporting techniques enabled the Free Press to explode the myth that the rioters were Southern immigrants who could not adjust to big city life and to report that participants in the riots cut across all education and income levels. The key to the cause of the rioting, the story was able to say, was alienation. The rioters were alienated from whites, and from other blacks, the study found.[131] Lambeth (1991) points out that Meyer's reporting systematically advanced the practice of journalism.[132]

Meyer wrote about his methods in a 1971 article for *Columbia Journalism Review* and his journalism text book, *Precision Journalism*, published in 1973, became a handbook for some investigative journalists in the early 1970s.[133] In his text, Meyer includes discussion of another pioneering use of computers to do investigative journalism. Described was the 1972 computer analysis of Philadelphia criminal court records by investigative reporters Don Barlett and James Steele.[134] This series, which exposed unfair sentencing practices and other irregularities in the handing out of justice, also is considered a classic investigative project.[135] Clearly, computer technology and social science methodology beckoned reporters into more indepth, investigative reporting.

Conclusion

The reporting of Watergate temporarily thrust investigative reporters into the role of pop heroes. But modern investigative journalism started two decades before the Nixon administration scandal was uncovered. Commenting on the renewed interest in investigative journalism in the mid-1970s, veteran investigative reporter Clark Mollenhoff of the Cowles papers called the new interest a "superficial fad" and pointed out that serious interest in investigative journalism by journalists had started in the early 1950s and had steadily risen in intensity.[136] Watergate, he said, only provided a "sharp impetus" for further growth.[137]

The emergence of modern investigative journalism must be tied to socio-cultural developments during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, to a dissolution of the uncritical attitude the press had toward government during and shortly after World War II, to legal developments and a call for more responsibility from the media, and to new tools and new challenges, both legal and technological.

In effect, there developed new expectations for the press during this time period. In essence, the press was called upon to reassert itself as the watchdog of government, a role originally proposed by the framers of the U.S. Constitution in the 18th Century, but which had succumbed to partisanship and commercialism during the 19th Century.[138] From the mid-1950s, society demanded a more aggressive press and the tools became available to support it. In response, modern investigative journalism emerged.

Notes

[1] Robert Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions* (New York: Greenwood, 1990); David L. Protess, *et al*, *The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America* (New York: Guilford, 1991); Leonard Downie Jr. *The New Muckrakers* (New York: New American, 1976); Paul Williams, *Investigative Reporting and Editing* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978); Theodore L. Glasser, "Typewriter Guerillas: The Power and the Glory of Investigative Journalists," *Twin Cities*, February 1987, 100-102; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic, 1978), esp. 187-194; Margaret Jones Patterson and Robert H. Russell, *Behind the Lines: Case Studies in Investigative Reporting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); James Boylan, "Declarations of Independence: A Historian Reflects On an Era in Which Reporters Rose Up to Challenge -- and Change -- the Rules of the Game," *Columbia Journalism Review*, November/December 1986, 30-45; Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson, *Investigative Reporting* (Ames, Ia.: Iowa State University Press, 1990, 2nd Ed.).

[2] Protess, *et al*, 3; Downie, 7; Williams, x; Glasser, 100; Schudson, 188-191. Schudson points out, however, that Watergate may have capped, rather than inaugurated, the wave of modern investigative journalism during this time period, yet it is an enduring symbol of the value of enterprise reporting, 191.

[3] Boylan, 30-41.

[4] Baughman, 120.

[5] Anthony Lewis, *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment* (New York: Vintage, 1992), 158.

[6] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 180.

[7] James Carey, *Communication As Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 21.

[8] John D. Stevens and Hazel Dicken Garcia, *Communication History* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), 42.

[9] Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); William Coblenz, prod., *All the President's Men*, 1976.

[10] Kim McQuaid, *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (New York: Basic, 1989), 191-192. Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon, What Happened and Why* (New York: Vintage, 1978), 381; Leonard Downie, Jr., "The Stardust Twins of *The Washington Post*," in *The New Muckrakers*, 1-53. The role of the press, including *The Washington Post*, in revealing the Watergate scandal also is covered in detail in David Halberstam, *The Powers That Be* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979).

[11] The shortcomings of the press in the coverage of Watergate and the argument that the press did not play a major role in forcing Richard Nixon's resignation, are made in Edward Jay Epstein, *Between Fact and Fiction: The Problem of Journalism* (New York: Vintage, 1975) 19-32; Stanley I. Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon* (New York: W.W. Norton,

1990); and Michael Schudson, "Watergate: A Study in Mythology," *Columbia Journalism Review*, May/June 1992, 28-33. On the creation of investigative reporters into American heroes, see James H. Dygert, *The Investigative Journalist: Folk Heroes of a New Era* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

[12] Dygert, *op.cit.*, vii-viii; John C. Behrens, *The Typewriter Guerrillas: Closeups of 20 Top Investigative Reporters* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977) xiii-xiv; James Boylan, "Declarations of Independence," 40-41. For an opposing view, see Schudson, *op.cit.*

[13] Walter Lubars and John Wicklein, eds., *Investigative Reporting: The Lessons of Watergate* (Boston: Boston University, 1975), 10.

[14] For the history of the muckrakers, see Walter M. Brasch, *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990); Miraldi, *Muckraking and Objectivity*; C.C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932); Harold Wilson, *McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); LeRoy H. Schramm, *Organized Labor and the Muckrakers, 1900-1912* (doctoral diss., Cornell University, 1972); Judson Grenier, "Muckraking and Muckrakers: An Historical Definition," *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn 1960; David Mark Chalmers, *The Muckrake Years* (Huntington, N.Y.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing, 1980); Peter N. Barry, *The Decline of Muckraking: A View from the Magazines* (doctoral diss., Wayne State University, 1973). For a more complete overview of the literature, see Harry Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-Year Scholarship," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56:1, Spring 1979, 9-17.

[15] Edmund Lambeth, "The Lost Career of Paul Y. Anderson," *Journalism Quarterly*, Fall 1983, 401-406; Carey McWilliams, "Is Muckraking Coming Back?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, Fall 1970, 8-15; Jack Anderson, "Drew Pearson Left Heritage to All Who Knew Him," *United Features Syndicate*, Dec. 13, 1986.

[16] Schudson, 191.

[17] On the beginnings of American consumerism, see Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); and Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976); T.J. Jackson Lears and R. Fox, eds., *The Culture of Consumption* (New York: Pantheon, 1983). On the dominance of consumer culture after World War II in particular, see Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper, 1984); Hodgson, *op.cit.*; James L. Baughman, *The Republic of Mass Culture: Journalism, Filmmaking, and Broadcasting in American since 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1992).

[18] Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 51.

[19] Marchand, *op.cit.*; Ewen, *op.cit.;* Baughman, *Ibid.*

[20] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 30-31.

[21] O.J. Ferguson, "Ideals and Duties of Journalism," in Frank Luther Mott, ed., *Journalism in Wartime: A Symposium of the School of Journalism, the*

University of Missouri (Washington D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943) 192-193.

[22] *Ibid.*, 193. See also, Lewis, 158.

[23] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 31-32; Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 34-44; Baughman, *op.cit.*, 52.

[24] Baughman, *Ibid.*, 21.

[25] *Ibid.*, 14.

[26] Matusow, *op.cit.*, 3-13; Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 17-64.

[27] Matusow, *Ibid.*, xiii.

[28] *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

[29] *Ibid.*, 5.

[30] Martin S. Hayden, "Investigative Reporting: An Assault on the Basic Regime," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, July 1, 1976, 574-576; McWilliams, *op.cit.*; Lambeth, *op.cit.*

[31] Carey McWilliams, "The Continuing Tradition of Reform Journalism," in John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein, eds., *Muckraking: Past Present and Future* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973) 123.

[32] *Ibid.*, 125-126; McWilliams, "Is Muckraking Coming Back?" 9-12.

[33] Bruce Locklin, "Digging Without a Shovel," *Nieman Reports*, Spring 1985, 51-52.

[34] McWilliams, "Is Muckraking Coming Back?" 10; Eric Alterman, "The Ironies of Izzymania," *Mother Jones*, June 1988, 34-37; James Boylan, "Reconstructing I.F. Stone," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Sept./Oct. 1989, 46-47; Nat Hentoff, "A Joyfully Independent Journalist," *Village Voice*, July 4, 1989, 25.

[35] Boylan, "Declarations of Independence," 31.

[36] On the left and counterculture Beat movements, see Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1989) 1-77. John Clellon Holmes, " 'This is the Beat Generation,' " *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 16, 1952, 22; Milton Viorst, *Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960's* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979) 55-88. On the civil rights movement and its implications for America, see Viorst, *op.cit.* 93-379; Blum, *op.cit.*; Hodgson, *op.cit.*; and Gitlin, *op.cit.*, 127-170.

[37] Hodgson, *op.cit.*; Gitlin, *op.cit.*; Viorst, *op.cit.*; Blum, *op.cit.*; Anthony Lewis, *Portrait of a Decade* (New York: Random House, 1964); and Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 31.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*; Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 34-44.

[42] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 31.

[43] *Ibid.*, 32.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Robert Yoakum, "The Dodd Case: Those Who Blinked," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Spring 1967, 13-20; James Boyd, "The Indispensable Informer," *The Nation*, May 5, 1979, 495-497.

[46] Behrens, *op.cit.*, 160-163.

[47] Dygert, *op.cit.*, 225-226.

[48] Tony Vella, "30 Years Later: Utica Remembers Pulitzer Prize-Winning Reporting," *Gannetteer*, March/April 1989, 6-7.

[49] Blum, *op.cit.*; Boylan, *op.cit.*, 33-34.

[50] Blum, *op,cit.*; Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 287, 300, 360; Matusow, *op.cit.*, 387.

[51] Gitlin, *op.cit.*; Hodgson, *op,cit.*, 275-287; Matusow, *op.cit.*, 377, 305-306; Blum, *op,cit.*, 270-420.

[52] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 33-34; Halberstam, *op.cit.*, 487-492, 467-485, 449-453; Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 253-378.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Some of the better analyses are by Hodgson, Matusow, Blum, and Gitlin, all cited earlier.

[55] Jim F. Heath, *Decade of Disillusionment: The Kennedy-Johnson Years* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1975) 12.

[56] Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 12.

[57] *Ibid.*, 300.

[58] For general histories of the underground/alternative press in America during this time period, see Laurence Leamer, *The Paper Revolutionaries: The Rise of the Underground Press* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); David Armstrong, *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America* (Boston: South End Press, 1981); and Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (New York: Pantheon, 1985).

[59] McWilliams, *op.cit.*, 13.

[60] Hodgson, *op.cit.*, 344.

[61] Armstrong, *op.cit.*, 303-304.

[62] Peck, *op.cit.*, 274; Armstrong, *Ibid.*

[63] Seymour Hersh, *My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath* (New York: Random House, 1970) 128-203; Peck, *op.cit.*, 201.

[64] Boylan, *op.cit.*, 33.

[65] Halberstam, *op.cit.*, 511; Boylan, *op.cit.*, 35-36.

[66] Halberstam, *Ibid.*, 508.

[67] Commission on Freedom of the Press, *op.cit.*

[68] Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Government and Mass Communications*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[69] Commission on Freedom of the Press, *op.cit.*, 1-5.

[70] *Ibid.*, 125.

[71] *Ibid.*, 20-29.

[72] Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press*, 11th Edition, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

[73] Alexander Meiklejohn, *Free Speech And Its Relation to Self-Government* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948). He expanded on his theory in "The First Amendment is an Absolute," *Supreme Court Review*, (1961) 245-266.

[74] Zechariah Chafee, "Book Review: Alexander Meiklejohn's *Free Speech And Its Relation to Self Government*," *Harvard Law Review*, 62 (1949) 891-901.

[75] Thomas I. Emerson, "Toward a General Theory of the First Amendment," *Yale Law Review*, 72 (1963) 877-956. He expanded his theory in *The System of Free Expression* (New York: Random House, 1970).

[76] Emerson, "Toward a General Theory," in Kent Middleton and Roy Mersky, Eds. *Freedom of Expression: A Collection of Best Writings* (Buffalo, N.Y.: William S. Hein & Co., 1981) 136-137.

[77] Emerson, *The System*, 300, 672-673.

[78] Vincent Blasi, "The Checking Value in First Amendment Theory," *American Bar Foundation Research Journal* (1977) 521-649.

[79] Blasi, "The Checking Value," in Middleton and Mersky, *op.cit.*, 376-378. For a discussion of the social responsibilty connection between the legal theories of Chafee, Emerson, Blasi, and Edwin Baker, see Elizabeth Blanks Hindman, "First Amendment Theories and Press Responsibility: The Work of Zechariah Chafee,

Thomas Emerson, Vincent Blasi and Edwin Baker," *Journalism Quarterly*, 69:1 (Spring 1992), 48-64.

[80] Behrens, *op.cit.*, xx.

[81] 376 U.S. 254 (1964)

[82] See, for example, Lewis, *Make No Law*.

[83] Harry Klaven, Jr., "The New York Times Case: A Note on 'The Central Meaning of the First Amendment,' " *Supreme Court Review* (1964) 191-221; Donald M. Gillmor, *Power, Publicity and the Abuse of Libel Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992) 13.

[84] Kalven, "The New York Times Case," in Middleton and Mersky, *op.cit.*, 101-131.

[85] *Ibid.*, 119.

[86] *Ibid.*, 120-123.

[87] Lewis, *Make No Law*, 158.

[88] Behrens, *op.cit.*, xiii.

[89] Lewis, *Make No Law*, 200.

[90] 388 U.S. 130, 87 S.Ct. 1975, 18 L.Ed.2d 1094 (1967).

[91] *Tilton v. Cowles Publishing Co.*, 459 P.2d 8 (Wash. 1969); *Grayson v. Curtis Publishing Co.*, 436 P.2d 756 (Wash. 1967); *Lloyds v. United Press International Inc.*, 311 N.Y.S.2d 373 (1970); *Arber v. Stahlin*, 159 N.W.2d 154 (Mich. 1968); *Old Dominion Branch No. 496, National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO v. Austin*, 418 U.S. 264 (1974); *Tripoli v. Boston Herald-Traveler Corp.*, 268 N.E.2d 350 (Mass. 1971); *Time, Inc. v. Johnston*, 448 F.2d 378 (4th Cir 1971); *McFarland v. Hearst Corp.* 332 F.Supp. 746 (D.Md. 1971); *Tucker v. Kilgore*, 388 S.W.2d 112 (Ky. 1964).

[92] 403 US. 29, 91 S.Ct. 1811, 29 L.Ed.2d 296 (1971).

[93] 418 U.S. 323, 94 S.Ct. 2997, 41 L.Ed.2d 789 (1974).

[94] 1 Med.L.Rptr. 2617, 408 U.S. 665 (1972).

[95] *Ibid.*, reprinted in Donald M. Gillmor, *et al*, *Mass Communication Law* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing, 1990) 354.

[96] *Ibid.*, 355.

[97] *Ibid.*, 357.

[98] The Georgetown Law Journal, *Media and the First Amendment in a Free Society* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachuetts Press, 1973) 210.

[99] 1 Med.L.Rptr. 1791, 385 U.S. 374, 87 S.Ct. 534, 17 L.Ed.2d 456 (1967).

[100] 403 U.S. 713, 91 S.Ct. 2140, 29 L.Ed.2d 822 (1971).

[101] For history and analysis of the Pentagon Papers case, see Sanford J. Ungar, *The Papers & The Papers: An Account of the Legal and Political Battle Over The Pentagon Papers* (New York: E.P.Dutton, 1975).

[102] Reprinted in Gillmor, *et al*, *op.cit.*, 97.

[103] *Ibid.* 96.

[104] Unger, *op.cit.*, 95. For a more general discussion of freedom of the press from *Times v. Sullivan* to *New York Times v. U.S.*, see Lucas A. Powe Jr., *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 79-105.

[105] Gillmor, *Power, Publicity*, 165-174. Gillmor argues that the high cost of libel suits makes libel law, in effect, a means of punishing criticism of government and public figures. Also see Lois G. Forer, *A Chilling Effect: The Mounting Threat of Libel and Invasion of Privacy Actions to the First Amendment* (New York: Norton, 1987).

[106] In *Branzburg*, *op.cit.*, the Supreme Court stated clearly: "The privilege claimed here is conditional, not absolute . . . The administration of a constitutional newsman's privilege would present practical and conceptual difficulties of a high order." Reprinted in Gillmor, *et al*, *op.cit.*, 353. Gillmor, *et al*, also point out that "a journalist who witnesses a crime remains highly vulnerable to subpoena" 371. Also, "reporters who assume that their promises of confidentiality are protected by the First Amendment or by statute are taking a great risk" 393.

[107] Forer, *op.cit.*

[108] *New York Times v. U.S.*, *op.cit.*, allows that while the burden on the government to prove the necessity of prior restraint is large, it could possibly be met in the future. And, indeed, the case did not dissuade the government from seeking to restrain publication of hydrogen bomb details in *The Progressive*. See*United States v. Progressive, Inc.*, 467 F.Supp. 990 (W.D.Wis. 1979).

[109] The Supreme Court has consistently ruled that the broadcast industry, because it uses public airwaves and a limited resource (channels), can be regulated by the government. See, for example, *Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC*, 395 U.S. 367 (1969), in which the court upheld the constitutionality of the FCC's fairness doctrine and personal attack rules. Also see Barry Cole and Mal Oettinger, *Reluctant Regulators: The FCC and the Broadcast Audience* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1978).

[110] Baughman, *op.cit.*, 30-47.

[111] *Ibid.*, 91-116.

[112] *Ibid.*, 41-42.

[113] *Ibid.*, 57-58.

[114] McWilliams, "Is Muckraking Coming Back?" 12.

[115] Halberstam, *op.cit.*, 292-293.

[116] Baughman, *op.cit.*, 125.

[117] George Kennedy, "Advocates of Openness: The Freedom of Information Movement," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri (August 1978) 24.

[118] *Ibid.*

[119] *Ibid.*, 28.

[120] Harold Cross, *The People's Right to Know* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953).

[121] 5 U.S.C.A. at 552.

[122] The exemptions are national security, if agency rules require nondisclosure, if a statute requires nondisclosure, trade secrets, interagency and intra-agency memos that would not ordinarily be available by law, personal medical personnel records and other private files, investigatory files for a current case, financial information about banks and other financial institutions, locations of private oil and gas wells. Gillmor, *et al*, *op.cit.*, 465-476.

[123] Gillmor, *et al*, *op.cit.*, 479.

[124] Dygert, *op.cit.*, 46.

[125] Yoakum, *op.cit.*, 13; Donald R. Shanor, "Can a Congressman Sue a Columnist?" *Columbia Journalism Review* (Spring 1967) 20-23.

[126] David Anderson and Peter Benjaminson, *Investigative Reporting* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1976, 1st Ed.) 140-147.

[127] *Ibid.*, 143-144.

[128] *Ibid.*, 144.

[129] *Ibid.*, 146.

[130] Philip Meyer, "The 'How' Behind This Special Survey," *Detroit Free Press*, Sunday, Aug. 20, 1967, 1B, col. 2. Reprinted in *Reporting the Detroit Riot* (New York: American Newspaper Publishers Assn., 1968) 43.

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] Edmund B. Lambeth, "Waiting for a New St. Benedict: Alasdair MacIntyre & the Theory and Practice of Journalism," *Business & Professional Ethics Journal*, 9:1-2 (1991) 100.

[133] Philip Meyer, *Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1973). Steve Weinberg, an investigative reporter for the *Des Moines Register*, recalled that

Meyer's text one of the few how-to books on investigative journalism when he was learning how to do the craft (interview with author, April 16, 1992).

[134] Meyer, *Precision Journalism*, 366-389.

[135] Steve Weinberg, *Telling the Untold Story: How Investigative Reporters Are Changing the Craft of Biography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992) 111-112.

[136] Dygert, *op.cit.*, 53.

[137] *Ibid.*

[138] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989) 30-62.

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The Poor Rich and The Rich Poor--

How Newspapers Perpetuated Values

By

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AEJMC Annual Conference,
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The Poor Rich and The Rich Poor--

How Newspapers Perpetuated Values

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During the late nineteenth century, newspapers served a cultural function just as significant as their traditional role of providers of information readers need to live in their community. This interpretive essay examines how papers inadvertently repeated the shared narratives that preserved the nation's values. A century ago, subliminal cues in some articles assured readers that the poor actually were rich (in spirit) while the rich were poor (in all ways that ultimately mattered).

The Poor Rich and The Rich Poor--

How Newspapers Perpetuated Values

Usually, people read the incidents in a news account to find out what happened either on that day or on a day in the distant past. Scholars, such as John Cawelti, Michael Marsden and Michael Schudson, have suggested that the record of occurrences contained in newspapers reflects the ambience of each era as well as the reality of the events. "...Journalism, like all fictions, is a creative and imaginative work, a symbolic strategy, a way of rendering the world reassuringly comprehensive or, failing that, of assigning events to fate, luck and chance."[1] During the late nineteenth century, newspapers served a psychological and cultural function just as significant as their traditionally recognized role of providing the information readers needed to live in their community. The press shared that function with contemporary forms of media--the cheap paperbacks, dime novels, subscription books, magazines, sheet music and story papers. This interpretive essay examines the role of newspapers as channels for unconsciously repeated shared narratives that preserved the nation's values.

Values pass from one generation to the next through archetypes embedded in popular culture, including the mass media. "Archetypes, as Carl Jung postulated, are deep and abiding patterns in the human psyche that remain powerful and present over time."[2] In Six Archetypes We Live By: The Hero Within, Carol S. Pearson explains that people unconsciously ascribe meaning to their experiences by editing the stories they tell to conform to an inherited body of plots, which connect the past with the present. These archetypes emerge from the collective unconscious (the all-encompassing mind containing both science and mysticism) that binds humanity into one continuous flow of psychic energy.[3] Readers unconsciously seek archetypes even in the most scientific treatise.

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[1] James W. Carey, "How and Why? The Dark Continent of American Journalism," in Reading the News, Robert Karl Manoff and Michael Schudson ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1987) 160.

[2] Carol S. Pearson, Six Archetypes We Live By: The Hero Within (San Francisco: Harper, 1989) xxv.

In the late nineteenth century, newspapers began to stress facts over story; however, the transition from articles reflecting the insights of the writers and the moral implications of events to a scientific approach that emphasized facts and objectively took decades to transpire. Moreover, the recognition of objectivity did not end newspapers' contributions to the inner lives of readers because shared narratives move unconsciously through society. "All writing, even scientific writing, is a form of storytelling aimed at imposing coherence on the otherwise chaotic flow of events," according to James W. Carey.[4] Automatically, people relate the incidents they read about in the newspaper to the archetypal patterns they have inherited. In The Wisdom of the Dream: The World of C. G. Jung, Stephen Segaller and Merrili Berger conclude that for Jung the unconscious was as real as the furniture in his house. Jung was a pioneer in establishing respect for "the reality of the psyche," the recognition that inner states exerted as much influence upon individuals as did thoughts and feelings.[5]

Newspapers affect the readers' inner world by providing channels for unconsciously repeated shared narratives that are embedded in routine stories.

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[3] Walter A. Shelbourne defined collective unconscious in Mythos and Logos in the Though of Carl Jung: The Theory of the Collective Unconscious in Scientific Perspective (Albany,: State University of New York Press, 1988) 45.

[4] Carey 159.

[5] Stephen Segaller and Merrill Berger, The Wisdom of the Dream: The World of C. G. Jung (Boston: Shambhala, 1990) 16-17.

These inferences are based on a study of forty-one popular plots including women's romances, dime novels, and mysteries as well as an analysis of six newspapers, which represented the time zones to avoid unduly emphasizing the New York City press. * The researcher selected compelling items that reflected general patterns of comment that other scholars have also noted.

A dominant motif of the success archetype focused on the biblical injunction against seeking earthly rather than heavenly treasures. Kings and queens often represent the triumph of materialism and the resulting decline of society. The treatment of monarchs in narratives and the news during the Gilded Age (1870-1910) reinforced the common notion that through Divine Providence, the New World had escaped the decadence of the class-ridden Old World. Both reporters and popular authors celebrated the aristocrats created by nature rather than by heredity, illustrated the corrupting power of money and denounced attempts to buy rather than to earn salvation. Some ministers left their congregations to preach to the multitude via popular plots or local history. They blended journalism and fiction into a pastiche of anecdotes and morals in their chronicles of conflagrations that they considered rehearsals of Judgment Day. Besides preachers, journalists, popular authors and civic leaders also praised the fires for purifying society by burning away the artificial barriers of class and privilege.

Fire Spares the True Aristocrats

The Chicago Fire immolated over three-hundred people and reduced three-quarters of the metropolis to ashes. Yet, contemporary news writers as well as citizens called this devastation a cruel kindness. Business leaders Elias Colbert and Everett

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* For the list of books included in the study, see Appendix I on page 22.

Chamberlain agreed with the novelist, the Rev. E. P. Roe, that The Great Conflagration would bring "good out of evil" by ["scorching out the Aristocracy."] [7] On the other hand, these same writers declared that material success was a reward for gumption. The intellectual historian, Merle Curti, concluded that "in the post Civil War decades the idea of success through self-effort became vastly more widespread than ever before." [8] Every home became a castle--at least metaphorically. Minute coverage of high society news that involved both the old-line monarchs of Fifth Avenue and the newly rich echoed Horatio Alger stories to remind readers that the genuinely rich lived on a modest income and regarded diligence noble.

Of course, unlike the European dukes and duchesses who had inherited their wealth, many of the Americans had earned their money. In fact, the aristocracy in the United States experienced uncomfortable expansion as the nouveau riches demanded their place at the banquet table. Suddenly, the wardens of propriety had to brush elbows with the vulgar upstarts who had turned wheat, pulp, barbed wire or some other common thing into gold. Newspapers followed the escapades of both groups and converted their squabbles into circulation boosts.

In addition to listing the names of those who had risen to the top, dailies around the country published articles about the richest available women, according to George Juergens, author of Joseph Pulitzer and The New York World. [9] Even the Town Talk in Alexandria, Louisiana, included items about wealthy matrons in nearly every issue.

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[7] Elias Colbert and Everett Chamberlain, Chicago and The Great Conflagration: With Numerous Illustrations by Chapin and Gulick from Photographic Views Taken on the Spot (Cincinnati: Vent, 1871) 148.

[8] Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1964) 621.

[9] George Juergens, "A Newspaper for Women," Joseph Pulitzer and The New York World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U P, 1966) 132-174.

On July 1, 1883, the editor noted that the queens of society at Grand Prix "pleased the eye immensely" in their changeable (reversible) silk dresses adorned with fruit and flowers. One English lady in blue satin stole the show. "On the front of the dress is embroidered in rainbow jets an enormous cat, and a cat in smaller proportions adorns the parasol." [10]

Working class maids aspired to attain finery grander than the "cat" gowns. Lads dreamed of rising in the world by marrying "cat queens" who (according to news items and serials) longed to escape from the dullards in tuxedos whom society expected them to wed. The rags-to-riches formula embodied a social myth that helped even the poorest individuals cope with adversity. The power of Alger's estimated 135 plots lies in their promise of opportunity. It was a modern fairy tale, which translated the narrative about princes and kingdoms into terms relevant to an industrial neighborhood by transforming the fairy godmother into a rich matron or a wise executive who helped the worthy protagonist rise from poverty to middle-class status. The princes kept ledgers in banks, sold goods in stores and operated their own modest businesses. The princesses stocked counters in department stores, typed letters in offices or cleaned house. The tales provided respite from the hard world in which evil often ravished good.

Just as nursery tales assured children that pure-hearted wimps could defeat monstrous bullies, during the Gilded Age the Alger myth encouraged those just barely earning enough to live on in sweatshops, factories or fields to persevere. The story empowered believers with the most potent weapon against hard times imaginable--magic. The reason formulas persisted was because they offered reassurance in a risky world. Juergens and other scholars miss the point when they complain that Alger wrote the same plot repeatedly. That storyline retold the narrative that codified the listeners' values. Anticipation enhanced the story.

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[10] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, 1 July 1883, 2:1.

Spiritual Riches Won't Rust

Cawelti suggests that Alger's readers enjoyed predicting what would happen next. Alger realized that the formula had to be reincarnated exactly to retain its potency. Many literary conventions depended upon repetition. The nineteenth-century cliffhangers provided inspiration as well as escape and relaxation. Alger and other success prophets celebrated a myth, a sacred story, that offered sanctuary from troubles. Joseph Campbell explains why such myths are crucial to all generations, including our own: [11]

> People say that we're all seeking meaning for life; I don't think that's what we're really seeking. I think that what we're seeking is an experience of being alive, so that our life experiences on the purely physical plane will have resonances within our own innermost being and reality, so that we actually feel the rapture of being alive. That's what it's all finally about, and that's what these clues help us to find within ourselves.

Since reporters as well as popular writers searched for clues to unravel the meaning of experiences in the U.S. democracy, they frequently defined royal status in terms of character rather than inheritance so that each citizen might aspire to be a prince or princess crowned by integrity. The Fergus County Argus extolled the "ideal Union Between the Poet and His Wife . . ." on December 5, 1895. William Cullen Bryant and his wife Miss Fanny Fairchild, the orphan whose beauty and lovely character had stolen the poet's heart, had lived together for 45 years. He gauged the popularity of every poem by her response. "Their sympathy was perfect, their dependence mutual . . . Mrs. Bryant's husband was her poet and lover at 70 as at 17." When Frances died, Bryant remembered her always and "hoped that she kept the same beloved name in heaven . . ." [12]

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[11] Joseph Campbell with Bill Moyers, Power of Myth (New York: Doubleday, 1988) 5.

Such news items as well as the serials and poems featured in many newspapers frequently repeated the success stories of noble souls who stored up spiritual rather than monetary treasures. True love, not cash, brought happiness. Integrity as well as fidelity earned respect, which could not be purchased. For example, on April 2, 1875, the Reese River Reveille in Austin, Nevada, saluted the Hoffman Brothers, proprietors of a dry-goods store who had "started on a small scale" and sold their merchandise for reasonable prices and earned fair profits: [13]

> . . . They are not hoggish and don't care to get rich suddenly. They prefer to expand their business gradually, so as to rest on a sure foundation; but they will not object to owning a three-story brick house chock full of goods, in a year or two.

Potboiler bards celebrated this myth, which might be titled, "The Hare and Tortoise Do Wall Street." By the end of the era, many journalists strove to make the news factual. However, in the early decades of the Gilded Age, editors described real incidents that demonstrated the power of the rags-to-riches formula, which made everyone potentially royal.

Pulitzer's "Gospel of Wealth" reflected the public belief that all things were possible in the land of self-made men and women. "The newspaper, like the people who read it, did not know whether to admire those newly emerged eminences or to oppose and condemn them."[14] The interest in success can be traced to Poor Richard's Almanac or McGuffey Readers but gained the most strength between 1870 and 1910 when inspirational authors, such as Thayer and Orison Swett Marden, wrote self-help tracts and biographies of cultural heroes worthy of emulation.[15] By 1900, the monthly magazine, Success, as well as the Successful American, Success: An Illustrated Magazine for the People and Eternal Progress, were selling briskly. The newspapers in small towns also espoused the doctrine of success. Indeed, on January 16, 1896, the editor of the Fergus County Argus, John M. Vrooman, urged his readers to "Keep Everlastingly at It."[16]

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[12] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus, "Bryant's Marriage: It Was an Ideal Union Between the Poet and His Wife." 5 December 1895, 4:4.

[13] The Austin, Nevada, Reese River Reveille, "The Little Store," 2 April 1875, 3:3.

> The line between success and failure is so fine that we scarcely know when we pass it-- so fine that we are often on the line and do not know it . . . A little more persistence, a little more effort, and what seemed hopeless failure may turn to glorious success. There is no failure except in no longer trying. There is no defeat except from within, no really insurmountable barrier save our own inherent weakness of purpose.

Of course, those born penniless had incentives for "keeping everlastingly at it." Although modern rags-to-riches tales transform deserving destitute protagonists into multimillionaires, the role model in the nineteenth-century stories rose modestly to the middle class and valued spiritual riches over material possessions.

On January 19, 1895, the editor of The Wenatchee Advance praised one king of integrity, L. E. Kellogg, who had retired after spending his life boosting newspapers in the West and, in the process, serving many communities by leading campaigns for civic improvements including streets, electricity, fire departments and law enforcement. Kellogg had "stuck to the printer's trade and lost opportunities" because he "...[lacked] business qualifications--that is the knack of trading, and bartering, and scheming, and circumventing and gouging . . ." [17] Although Kellogg did not rise to the top of the commercial world, he attained middle-class respectability. His successor at the Washington paper extolled Kellogg's virtues: [18]

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[14] Juergens 176. See "A Gospel of Wealth," 175-209.

[15] Orison Swett Marden, Pushing to the Front, Or Success Under Difficulties: A Book of Inspiration and Encouragement to All Who Are Struggling for Self-Elevation Along the Paths of Knowledge and Duty, Boston: Houghton Mifflin,1894 and (assisted by Margaret Connolly) his most famous, Power of Personality, New York: Crowell,1906; William Makepeace Thayer, Success: Oracle of the Age Springfield, OH.: Eagle, 1895; Tact, Push and Principle, Boston: Earle, 1882, and From Log Cabin to the White House: The Life of James A. Garfield, Boston, Earle, 1881.

[16] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus,"Keeping Everlastingly at It,".27 June 1895, 2:4, from the Electrical Review.

> Our acquaintance with Mr. Kellogg has continued since '83. We have always found him an industrious, conscientious, well-meaning newspaper man, laboring faithfully for the communities in which he lived, aiding individuals and making a good local paper. Personally, we found him a generous, self-sacrificing, warm-hearted gentleman, a good citizen and a true friend.

Kellogg had won the respect of his neighbors, a feat that eluded many millionaires and most monarchs. The love-hate tension between the rich and the poor surfaced in briefs that scoff at the pretensions of America's social aristocracy. On June 27, 1895, Austin, Nevada's Fergus County Argus ran this item from the Chicago Tribune about a fool who went to bed without removing his gloves after returning from his dinner club. At 3 a.m. he woke up his wife screaming, "Lobelia, Lobelia! I believe on my soul I am paralyzed! There isn't a bit of feeling in my hands!" [19] The editor of the Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk reminded his readers of just how common even mighty emperors ultimately become. [20]

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[17] The Wenatchee, Washington, Wenatchee Advance,"Pioneer Printer's Luck. Frank Dallam Tells Of His Early Observations. Men Who Stuck To The Printers Trade And Lost Opportunities," 19 January 1895, 2:1.

[18] Wenatchee Advance, 19 January 1895, 2:1.

[19] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus,"Paralyzed," 27 June 1895, 4:1.

> Instances have been observed of nails growing on the stumps of amputate fingers, and when the coffin containing the corpse of the great Napoleon was opened long after his death at St. Helena, his toenails had grown clear through his boots, and his hair stuck through the chinks of the coffin.

In some stories about the wayward rich, poor judgment proved deadly. On April 13, 1893, The New York Daily Tribune reported that a skinflint had died in a quarrel over a quarter with a hack driver in Hickman, Kentucky. The one-paragraph, front-page story explained that, like many monarchs, the miser was "possessed of a considerable fortune and an ungovernable temper." [21] Many agreed with the Rev. T. De Witt Talmadge that it was unexcusable to lose one's temper or "take a gloomy view of life because this [was] the best of all worlds to live in." [22]

The 'Beautiful Fiend'

Despite the natural splendors of this world, sometimes alcoholism and other bad habits inherent in the self-indulgences that mostly rich people could afford incited sorrow. On January 3, 1896, the Austin, Nevada, Fergus County Argus proved that anger can trigger fatal foolishness. [23] In this clipped tale about shipwrecked love, a Parisian blue blood, who had been jilted by "the object of his affection" after illness had left him bald, bought a curly wig. His heartthrob ridiculed him by tossing his toupee to a companion and slapping him when he tried to retrieve it. She and her high-society friends laughed until he stabbed her in the throat, ending the gay restaurant party.

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[20] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, 22 September 1883, 3:1.

[21] The New York Daily Tribune, "Killed In A Quarrel Over Twenty-Five Cents," 13 April 1893, 1:3.

[22] The Rev. T. De Witt Talmadge's "recent lecture" was quoted in the Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, 23 March 1883, 4:1.

[23] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus, "Romance of a Wig. A Very Simple Trick That Ended in a Tragedy," 3 January 1896, 4:1.

The bald paramour went to jail, and the druggist who treated the cold-hearted siren predicted that she would die. Such tales gleaned from newspapers probably were based on real incidents. However, the retelling of the story always emphasized the details most pertinent to the cultural context of the readers. The names often dropped out entirely. What mattered was what happened to the fool who wasted money and time trying to please a haughty belle. Besides underscoring the snobbery of European aristocrats, such scandals inspired editors to advise the lovelorn. In fact, on October 10, 1895, N. P. Willis, warned:[24]

> The plainest features become handsome unawares when associated only with kind feelings and the loveliest face disagreeable when linked with ill humor or caprice. People should remember this when they are selecting a face, which they are to see every morning across the breakfast table for the remainder of their lives.

Such news items reinforced the stereotypes that permeated popular plots. Therefore, many authors equated beauty with goodness, and some, like E.D.E.N. Southworth in A Beautiful Fiend (1873), proved that external appearance did not guarantee angelic behavior. On the other hand, the "Fiend's" lovely foil was virtuous. Gen. Lew Wallace also created an evil temptress in Ben-Hur (1880). Usually, the corrupt beauty lusted for money and prestige. In Barriers Burned Away (1872), Christine's father's fixation with aristocracy warped her values. The naked statues in her bedroom symbolized her fall from American grace into European decadence.

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[24] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus, "Choosing a Wife," 10 October 1895, 1:2.

The oxymoron of the decadent upper crust being the epitome of success and social grace generated contradictions in the New York World, according to Juergens. He concluded that Pulitzer's liberal, pro-labor, pro-reform policies clashed with the paper's minute coverage of the excesses of the American aristocracy. However, rather than serving as the battleground for inconsistencies as Juergens suggests, Pulitzer's editorial page embodied the grafting of the success myth to the news and, thus, the justification of the old story by filtering it through reality. By foreshadowing the points that Carnegie delineated in the "Gospel of Wealth" and that popular writers, such as Edward Eggleston, Mary Jane Holmes, and George Cable demonstrated, the World proved how even the richest person could balance material needs with spiritual aspirations. Greed, sloth and debauchery, not success, condemned irresponsible millionaires. . Indeed, sudden inheritance ruined an heir in a front-page story on December 31, 1885, in The Muncie Daily News: [28]

> **Unable to Stand Good Fortune**
>
> Auburn, N. Y. , Dec. 31. – Herrick Williams, a young man moving in respectable circles here, was arrested for wife beating. A short time ago by the death of his father he fell heir to $50,000. This sudden acquisition seemed to turn his brain, and he began to drink heavily. Lately he has been more intoxicated than usual, and in a quarrel with his wife he pummeled her in a brutal fashion. Her face is much disfigured. Williams' friends refused to bail him out.

Social gospel leader the Rev. Washington Gladden cautioned that the "exaggerated unselfishness of their parents," which denied children the satisfaction of ministering to others, stunted their character. [29] Pulitzer never tired of criticizing Cornelius Vanderbilt and his "boorish" son, William Henry. One editorial warned that the sins of the father are visited upon the son:[27]

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[28] The Muncie, Indiana, Muncie Daily News, "Unable to Stand Good Fortune," 31 December 1885, 1:5.

[29] Washington Gladden, "Three Dangers," The Century Magazine, 30 (August 1884) 620.

> What respect is due to a man who counts his wealth by the hundred million and spends it wholly for the gratification of his own whims and pleasures? . . . Who in the coarse and vulgar language of a horse jockey extols his son, not for his culture, not for his virtues, not for his industry, not for his patriotism or public spirit, but for his sharpness in Wall Street gambling and because "he never squeals."

This editorial sounded like a passage from In His Steps (1897) or Looking Backward (1888). Fiction writers contrasted the wicked, selfish, wealthy human-peacock whose cupidity ruined his children with the wholesome, struggling family man whose children rose above their poverty mostly because suffering had taught them how to live. A variation on this theme of the heartless father appeared on February 9, 1895, in The Wenatchee Advance's account of Daisy Gardner's $10,000 breach of promise suit against George Stone, whose father had imprisoned him in a cavernous vault in Chicago until after the hour set for the wedding to prevent him from marrying the virtuous but poor telegraph operator.[28] The quiet, steely solitude of the safe had convinced the suitor not to marry Daisy.

In popular plots during the Gilded Age, the pampered, thoughtless rich always sneered at the poor, and the Commodore's son was no exception. In true villainous fashion, when questioned about railroad policies in Michigan City in 1882, he retorted, "Let the public be damned!"[29] Pulitzer pounced on the remark, noting that "the words are as appropriate to him as the bristles on a hog. All the dollars in the world cannot remove innate vulgarity. They can only make it more offensive by coating it over with insolence and swagger."[30] Juergens explained that the Commodore was not referring to pigs when he said his son did not squeal. He meant that, like a pedigree hunting dog, his son could take punishment without yelping. Neither reference was flattering.

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[27] World, 14 October 1883, p. 4 in Juergens, 769.

[28] The Wenatchee, Washington, Wenatchee Advance,"Miss Gardner Wants Solace," 9 February 1895. It came from the second column an inside page, probably page 4, but the microfilm was too faint to distinguish exactly which one.

[29] World, 14 October 1883, p. 4 in Juergens 769.

However, the comparison of the rich boy to a dog might have amused those who had read Margaret Deland's John Ward, Preacher (1888). In that popular novel, the attorney who worked to earn his living cuffed the spoiled button prince about the ears for behaving like a cur toward the virtuous damsel. Not all slackers were millionaires. In fact, the diligent fathers died young in books, and the newspapers ran anecdotes about gold-bricking papas. The Town Talk quoted "old Mrs. Jones" who recalled that her first husband was so sluggish that he refused to shovel a path to the front gate. Instead, "he [. . . laid] on the lounge and [pinched] the baby's ears with nippers until the neighbors came rushing in to see what was the matter, and thus tread down the snow."][31] Such hyperbole contrasted with the tales, which Alger and Eleanor Hodgson Porter wrote about street urchins who worked 18 hours a day to avoid being beaten.[32]

Can't Buy Happiness

Frequently, newspaper articles and formula tales depicted fictive rich fathers--the American equivalent to kings or at least dukes--breaking their children's spirits instead of their bodies. Moreover, villains lost their souls along with their fortunes by speculating. In numerous commentaries in periodicals, the Rev. Gladden denounced the gambling mania and explained that commerce hinged on honest trading. Unfortunately, those involved in speculation robbed not only the gullible but also all respectable citizens. He declared, "the poor man's loaf grows small as the gambler's gains increase. Every cent made by this class of men is taken from the industrial classes with no compensation." [33]

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[30] Juergens 179.

[31] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Daily Town Talk,"Lazy," 1 July 1883, 2:1.

[32] See Horatio Alger, Phil, the Fiddler or the Story of a Young Street Musician (North Plainfield, N.J.: Nautilus Facsimile, 1971 from the Loring ed., 1872) and Eleanor H. Porter, Cross Currents: The Story of Margaret (Chicago: Wilde, 1907) and the sequel, The Turn of the Tide or How Margaret Solved Her Problem (New York: Burt, 1908).

These "parasites of commerce" were just as guilty as if they had gone ". . . about picking [their] neighbors' pockets or setting their harvest fields on fire." [34] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk agreed, noting that while "Jay Gould is worth $600,000,000, we are worth, let's see--five, ten, fifteen--we are worth only $000,000,015." [35] Gladden decried the lack of public concern and accused newspapers of "[dealing] gingerly" with speculators, the enemies of society. The New York World did not "deal gingerly" with speculators. In fact, Pulitzer denounced gambling on Wall Street and decried the piracy that allowed a minority to amass great wealth. He warned, "do not dream of becoming a Money King as soon as you secure a gilt gingerbread crown and brass scepter." [36]

Instead of becoming a "Money King," the Rev. Russell Conwell chose to remain a middle-class success prophet by donating the estimated $2.5 million he earned lecturing on "Acres of Diamonds" to philanthropic causes. The pastor of the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia lived on his $10,000 a year salary. Too much cash brought misery, not joy, according to Conwell, who called Carnegie . . ."a tired, harassed old man, whose money was a burden that he was trying to lighten--and having a hard time doing it."[37] Andrew Carnegie might purchase castles in Scotland and build libraries across the nation, but he could buy neither inner peace nor a seat in heaven. Not only did popular authors depict the futility of hording a fortune, but in *The Gospel of Wealth* (1900), Carnegie advocated spending millions on ventures that would enable the poor to experience self-improvement. He declared that anyone who died rich, died disgraced! [38]

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[33] Gladden, "Three Dangers," The Century Magazine, 30 (August 1884) 625.

[34] Gladden 627.

[35] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, 17 March 1883, 2:2.

[36] Juergens 184. He comments on speculation on pp. 181-184.

Newspapers along the frontier frequently promoted Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth. For instance, the obituary of the Hon. Gerrit Smith, 77, who died in New York on December 28, 1875, praised the eccentric's good deeds. The editor of the *Reese River Reveille* in Austin, Nevada, called Smith a "pure philanthropist" who was "an Abolitionist when the name was a by-word and hissing among politicians." Although Smith often was "wrong in his political notions" and sometimes "urged the wildest fancies," he was trustworthy. Like Carnegie he believed in divesting himself of his fortune. Unlike the steel king, Smith assisted individuals: [39]

> He held that it was wrong for any man to hold land in large quantities; and hence he distributed over 200,000 acres of land, inherited from his father, in tracts of 40 to 50 acres among the deserving poor. Such was the measure of his life, impulsive, yet pure, noble and good.

In the public myths, the only thing worse than dying a millionaire was being a gambler. The newspapers explained how city slickers won bets. For example, the Alexandria, Louisiana, *Town Talk* printed a dispatch from Philadelphia about a dapper rat catcher who won a $50 bet with a crowd by transferring--with his bare hands--100 live rats from a pit to a barrel in 60 minutes. The professional rodent handler kept his rats as pets so that he could astound the credulous long enough to extort a dollar from them. [40] Of course, such newspaper tales reinforced the narrative convention of the depraved, disgusting city where speculators robbed innocent farmers.

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[37] Bruce Barton, "Conversation Between A Young Man and an Old Man: Bruce Barton at 34 and Russell H. Conwell at 78, *The American Magazine*, 92:1 (July, 1921), 15.

[38] "Andrew Carnegie: The Wealth-Maker," *The Outlook*, 16:122 (August 20, 1919), 596.

[39] The Austin, Nevada, *Reese River Reveille*, 2 January 1875, 2:1.

Many villains in serials were thieves of the lowest order--speculators. For instance, in Ed Wheeler's horse opera, Deadwood Dick on Deck or Calamity Jane, the Heroine of Whoop-Up. A Story of Dakota (1885), the evil Senator made his money in dirty land deals. He transported his private stash of fancy booze in a gigantic Saratoga trunk and littered the unspoiled West with empty champagne bottles. The cad hired "Arkansas Alf, the Ghoul," to kill his two estranged wives as well as Deadwood Dick. In the who-dun-it by Mary Roberts Rinehart, The Circular Staircase (1908), both the father and son embezzled their bank to finance wild speculations. The father disinherited his son to cover up his own theft. Eventually both died horribly in pursuit of their dishonest booty.

Besides denouncing speculators, the popular bards as well as journalists focused on the aristocratic pretensions of the wealthy. For example, in Barriers Burned Away (1872), Christine considered herself a German princess and hoped to retire to a castle on the Rhine with her father after they had sold enough art in America to finance the move. This use of American money to deplete the Continent of its prizes rather than to encourage Yankee artists occurred in reality as well as in fiction, according to Pulitzer. He rebuked the rich, who bought European treasures but did not support American artists, as unpatriotic. He ridiculed them for putting coats-of-arms on their coaches and dressing like the English or French. On March 17, 1883, the editor of the Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk also declared that the preoccupation with foreign standards had eroded national values. He condemned, "The Dude," whom he believed exemplified all that was phony. Naturally, indolence turned men of all classes into dudes.

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[40] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, 23 March 1883, 4:2, from the Philadelphia Times.

In fact, the editor of the Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk warned that the exodus of able-bodied middle-class youth from useful trades to genteel jobs, which would not pay enough to support a family, threatened society. He lamented, " they seem to care little for the pay so long as the work doesn't muss their hair and soil their clothes."[41] In potboilers parasitic parents indulged their children and, thus, extinguished any flame of ambition that hard work might have sparked. Many rich sons became dudes--the vane, wasteful, pampered fungi whom preachers and editors frequently lambasted as the soul brethren of mashers. However, unlike mashers, dudes were fascinated with Continental tomfoolery and put on high-society airs: [42]

> The dude is from 19 to 28 years of age, wears trousers of extreme tightness, is hollow-chested, effeminate in his ways, apes the English and distinguishes himself among his fellow men as a lover of actresses. The badge of his office is the paper cigarette, and his bell-crown English opera hat is his chiefest joy . . .

Many of these stories mentioned the evil influence of the Old World upon the pure new republic. The Angel in Gene Stratton-Porter's romance, Freckles, worried that the man she loved would have reason to be ashamed of his relatives who were Irish nobles. Most authors included a scene or, at least, an editorial comment illustrating that true nobility arose from character, not birth. Marriages most likely to succeed joined Americans, who had climbed up the social ladder, unencumbered by aristocratic ties or pretentious claims, such as the dudes made to high society. The Muncie Daily News quoted the minister who was "Preaching without Gloves On--God won't keep a young girl pious long who has her waist encircled seven times a week by the arms of spider-legged dude." [43]

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[41] Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, "Further Trouble for Girls," 23 March 1883, 4:2.

[42] The Alexandria, Louisiana, Town Talk, "The Dude," 17 March 1883, 4:1, from the Brooklyn Eagle.

Nevertheless, the editor of the Fergus County Argus reminded readers in Lewiston, Montana, of the "American Fondness for Titles," which made "Military Designations as Plenty as Blackberries: Why, hang it, we dote on titles. Just see how many of the rich girls go gunning for titles abroad and are willing to accept broken down specimens of humanity for husbands simply because they call themselves dukes or marquises or counts or what not." [44] Pulitzer renounced the nouveau riches who bought prestige for their children by arranging marriages with blue bloods. Just as formula story writers denounced marrying for gold instead of love, Pulitzer predicted desolation awaited brides whose parents sold them to Europeans to secure aristocratic titles: [45]

> A girl who sells herself or allows herself to be sold for a title without love or affection sacrifices the best attributes of womanhood. What has she a right to expect except a cold, calculating life, full of frivolity or of abuse?

Pulitzer praised Vanderbilt for not putting on aristocratic airs. Vanderbilt kept his coat-of-arms small; his wife did not carry a poodle, and his children married "plain Americans." [46] The publisher preached from the editorial columns the sanctity of love based on character rather than on bank balances.

In fact, one long feature in the World about Caroline Astor's marriage to Orme Wilson, a regular guy who had nothing to offer but love, resembled a Cinderfellow story. It is the same plot that many readers devoured in their fiction except she did not renounce her wealth. Would the money corrupt him? Would he become a whiskey guzzling, billiard addict with a red nose and gout in his toes? In the formula plots, Wilson would have been lucky had no worse fall awaited him!

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[43] The Muncie, Indiana, Muncie Daily News, "Preaching Without Gloves On," 2 July 1885, 1:3.

[44] The Lewiston, Montana, Fergus County Argus, "American Fondness for Titles," 28 March 1895, 4:1.

[45] The New York World, 21 November 1883, in Juergens 191.

[46] Juergens 208.

Besides commenting on the evils of ill-gotten money and vanity, news stories and formula plots also provided a stage for experimenting with the changes in lifestyle women experienced during the Gilded Age. Many took jobs in the city. The bicycle freed them from cumbersome garments, and the typewriter as well as the department store created new employment options. Pulitzer included lists of wealthy women in his feature pages to attract women. Juergens suggests that such articles proved that everyone could be royalty and demonstrated the fascination of the Horatio Alger myth. Of course, the reporters also wrote about those who had pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps. Headlines often told the familiar story: **"THE LEGAL FRATERNITY OF NEW YORK--MEN WHO HAVE WORKED UP FROM THE RANKS," "GO-A-HEADATIVE MEN," "MEN OF MARK AND PUSH," "MEN WHO GRASP AT FORTUNE AS SHE FLIES, SUCCESS THEIR MOTTO."** [47]

A decade before Edward Bok, the editor of The Ladies Home Journal, had discovered the popularity of photo spreads featuring the mansions of the wealthy, the World took its readers inside the homes of the famous. While few could afford to emulate the rich, many enjoyed dreaming about living in a palace. Juergens explains that these articles appealed to people in the same way cliff hangers opened portals of the imagination. ". . . The grandeur of the mansions made their owners resemble characters of a cherished fairy tale." [48]

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[47] Juergens 208.

[48] Juergens 208.

Conclusions--Constructing and Escaping Reality

The features about mansions invited readers to enter the safe realm of archetypes and fairy tales where everything has meaning and nothing defies explanation. News and fiction share narrative roots that extend deep into the collective unconscious or world mind that Jung described. The task of weaving disjointed facts into a news story required gathering credible information. To this day, "because editors work with a preconceived 'plot,' if the facts are different from what they expect, they are inclined to reject the story as unreal."[49] Readers read the news partly at the subconscious level for the tale it tells. Robert Karl Manoff explained in Reading the News that reporters always select information that confirms plots essential either to the routines of their job or to some inner need for affirmation of a preconceived construct of reality.[50] A century ago, news writers unconsciously sought items that repeated the success archetype and assured readers that the poor actually were rich (in spirit) while the rich were poor (in all ways that ultimately mattered).

In the late nineteenth century, newspapers split from all other forms of manuscript writing--especially fiction--by claiming to fulfill the culture's need for impartial information and by establishing university training for aspiring journalists. However, saying something is not the same as actually doing it. Then and now reporters repeated their society's cherished archetypes in new channels. The five W's and one H gave the old paradigms a new look, but the hidden message remained the same--humans are tied inextricably to the past by the silver chord of traditional lore. Whenever people live, they must tell stories to make sense out of their experiences.

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[49] William L. Rivers and Cleve Mathews, Ethics for the Media (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988) 84.

[50] Robert Karl Manoff 228.

Appendix I: How To Study Success

This table shows the stories, which the researcher considered. Books that fit into more than one category were listed according to their most dominant traits, and none appear twice in the chart.

Popular Plots In The Gilded Age

Genre:	Author:	Title:	Year:
Religious Books	E. P. Roe	Barriers Burned Away	(1872)
	Gen. Lew Wallace	Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ	(1880)
	Margaret Deland	John Ward, Preacher	(1888)
*		*	*
Idea Portraits	Kate Douglas Wiggin	The Bird's Christmas Carol	(1887)
	Edward Bellamy	Looking Backward	(1888)
	Charles M. Sheldon	In His Steps	(1897)
	Elizabeth Stuart Phelps	Beyond the Gates	(1883)
		Gates Ajar	(1886)
		The Gates Between	(1887)
Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner		The Gilded Age (two volumes)	(1873)
*		*	*
Dime Novels	Edward S. Ellis	Wyoming	(1888)
	Horatio Alger	Phil the Fiddler; or The Story of a Street Musician	(1872)
		Luke Walton	(1889)
	"Burt L. Standish" (Gilbert Patten)	Frank Merriwell's School Days	(1900)
	E. L. Wheeler	Deadwood Dick on Deck or Calamity Jane, the Heroine of Whoop Up -- A Story of Dakota	(1885)

Genre:	Author:	Title	Year:
Mysteries	Frederick Dey	Nick Carter's Mysterious Case or the Road House Tragedy	(1896)
	"Old Sleuth" (Harlan Page Halsey)	Fly-Away Ned	(1895)
	Anna Catherine Green	The Leavenworth Case The Circular Study	(1878) (1900)
	Mary Roberts Rinehart	The Circular Staircase	(1900)
*		*	*
Domestic Fantasics	Edward Eggleston	The Hoosier School-Master	(1871)
	George Cable	John March, Southerner	(1894)
	Opie Read	The Jucklins	(1894)
*		*	*
Regional Tales	Ann Stephens	Phemie Frost's Experiences	(1874)
	Alice Caldwell Hegan Rice	Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch	(1901)
*		*	*
Women's Romances	E.D.E.N. Southworth	The Beautiful Fiend [sequel] Victor's Triumph	(1873) (1875)
	Mary Jane Holmes	Edith Lyle's Secret	(late 1870s-early 1880s)
	Amelia Barr	Jan Vedder Wife	(1885)
*		*	*
Girl's Romances	Frances Hodgson Burnett	A Little Princess	(1888)
	Gene Stratton Porter	Freckles	(1904)
	Kate Douglas Wiggin	Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm Polly Oliver's Problem	(1903) (1893)
	Margaret Sidney	Five Little Peppers and How They Grew	(1881)
	Eleanor Porter	Pollyanna	(1913)

Genre:	Author:	Title:	Year:
Children's Serials	James Otis (Kaler)	Toby Tyler: or Ten Weeks With a Circus	(1881)
		Josiah in New York: or A Coupon From the Fresh Air Fund	(1893)
	Laura Richards	Captain January	(1893)
	Frank Baum	The Wizard of Oz	(1900)
	Alice Caldwell Hegan Rice	Captain June	(1907)
	Eleanor Porter	Cross Currents: Margaret's Story	(1907)
		The Turn of the Tide: The Story Of How Margaret Solved Her Problem	(1908)
*		*	*
Westerns	Owen Wister	The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains	(1902)
*		*	*
Success Tracts	P.T. Barnum	The Art of Money-Getting in Struggles and Triumphs	(1884)
	Andrew Carnegie	The Gospel of Wealth	(1900)
	Rev. Russell Conwell	Acres of Diamonds	(1887)

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THE SCOPES "MONKEY TRIAL" REVISITED--
MENCKEN and the EDITORIAL-ART of EDMUND DUFFY

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THE SCOPES "MONKEY TRIAL" REVISITED--
MENCKEN AND THE EDITORIAL-ART OF EDMUND DUFFY

The era known as the Roaring Twenties, because of Chicago gangsters, Prohibition and bathtub gin, is notable for its influence on American culture. Those kaleidoscope years left a legacy of contemporary icons--Bill Tilden, Babe Ruth and Bobby Jones; the genius of George Gershwin and the romance of Jerome Kern's "Show Boat" as well as legends like Jolson, Fanny Brice and Will Rogers. Major social forces emerged--network radio, the vote for women and the rise of Wall Street--with significant repercussions on behavior. The 1920s were "an era of wonderful nonsense" with speakeasies, flappers and flag-pole sitters; its rich panorama is captured in Only Yesterday (1959, Allen).

The Twenties witnessed an outpouring of national sentiment: adulation for aviation's "Lone Eagle," Charles Lindbergh, first to solo from New York to Paris; and outrage over the unfolding scandals in President Warren G. Harding's administration and the graft and corruption of Teapot Dome. Courtroom drama provided a common thread through those tumultuous years; gaudy trials held millions of Americans in rapt attention. The infamous Palmer raids, that netted 2,000 arrests in one day, and enforcement of the Volstead Act provided continuing fare. The conviction of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, victims of the big Red Scare, prompted protests in the streets. And the nation first shocked by the horror of the Leopold-Loeb trial was later titillated by the Hall-Mills murder case.

Time tends to romanticize memories, however. The brutalities of Al Capone assume heroic proportions; people remember the daring of Lucky Lindy and forget the America Firster who openly backed the Nazi war machine. Similarly, one trial now enshrined in myth as a battle for religion was a great deal more.

At mid-decade of the 1920s one courtroom saga riveted the attention of the entire nation--the "Monkey Trial," a contest that purportedly pitted the forces of Darwin's scientific evolution against the basic religious beliefs of Christian Fundamentalists (1958, Ginger). The defendant was John T. Scopes, a 24-year-old high school biology teacher (1967, Scopes and Presley). In reality, the Scopes trial was a scheme, dreamed up by people who hoped to bring business to a small town, aided by those who saw political opportunity beckon and manipulated by the press to capitalize on the event.

The Scopes trial was dominated by a number of prominent figures who reduced Scopes to a minor role. Arguably, one of the most influential involved in that contest was H. L. Mencken, Baltimore newspaperman and editor of The American Mercury (1952, Manchester, pp. 137-156). Mencken, little-remembered by the general public today, was described by Walter Lippmann "as the most powerful influence on this whole generation of educated people" (1964, Nolte, p. 167). Mencken contrived to shape the course and events of the Scopes trial in a manner that transcends the role of a newsman reporting events.

When Mencken, nationally-known writer for The Sun of Baltimore, led that newspaper's delegation to cover the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925, he spearheaded a distinguished group of reporters. The Sunpapers' staff was divided into two teams, from two competing but jointly-owned newspapers (1937, Johnson, *et al*, pp. 378-379). Mencken himself represented *The Evening Sun*, the paper that he was instrumental in forming, where he held forth on its editorial pages; another was Henry M. Hyde, a member of the staff since 1920 after coming aboard from the *Chicago Tribune*. Frank R. Kent reported for the morning *Sun*. He later won lasting fame as author of *The Great Game of Politics* that became the title for his influential front-page political column, read for generations for its inside-Washington reporting by the President on down. Another member of that delegation, however, the youngest (only a year older than Scopes) and least-known, was the new editorial-page cartoonist for *The Sun*, Edmund Duffy. His graphic artwork played a significant role in the public's perception of the trial proceedings reported in the pages of *The Sun*, then one of America's most influential newspapers.

For Duffy, it was his first out-of-town assignment and major news event since joining *The Sun* the year before from *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. Duffy had been given his first break by

Robert Benchley (1951, Hamilton, pp. 8-12), then an editor with the New York Herald; later Duffy worked briefly for the short-lived New York Leader. Duffy was taken on at the Sun through Mencken's recommendation (1968, Mayfield, p. 88; 1979, Levine, p. 15). His early work showed promise. Hired to help elect Democratic presidential candidate John W. Davis, Duffy demonstrated his liberal bent in the losing cause. Moreover, he displayed uncommon vigor in attacking the Ku Klux Klan and other ills that beset the Republic. Exposure of government graft and corruption became everyday episodes for Baltimore readers. Preceding Duffy's appearance, Sun readers had been treated with the comic editorial drawings of "Ding" (J. N. Darling), a good cartoonist but one who seldom hurt anyone's feelings (1979, Lendt). Duffy, with his sometimes savage artwork, did the kind of thing that delighted Mencken, who loved nothing more than to "stir up the animals." The Scopes trial promised to do that. Moreover, it became a landmark episode in American newspaper history.

The essential issue centered on First Amendment rights. Any threat to abridgement of speech and press was a continuing crusade with Mencken (1957, Mencken Speaking) and Duffy fully subscribed to that point of view. Duffy's contribution to the Scopes trial established him as a commanding editorial page presence. His art helped define the issues of the Scopes trial in graphic portrayal that complemented Mencken's scathing prose. Mencken put a lot of stock in a good newspaper cartoonist. "Give me a good editorial cartoonist," he said, "and I can fire half the editorial staff" (1980, Grauer, p. A29). The Scopes trial was largely a Sunpapers enterprise, engineered in large measure by Mencken himself.

In the mid-1920s a wave of anti-Darwinian sentiment arose, a growing reaction to pro-science and anti-religious thought, and swept across America's Southland--the "Bible belt" in Mencken's phrase. State after state passed resolutions prohibiting the teaching of evolution in the classroom. Florida, Kentucky, Texas, Arkansas and other states endorsed such measures. Tennessee was the first, however, to pass specific legislation in both houses and escape veto by the governor (Ginger, p. 7). Consequently, when young Scopes freely admitted he taught evolution, he was charged with violating the new state law, a misdemeanor, and the battle was joined.

From the outset the prosecution was amiable, if not friendly. Local people, seeking publicity for the obscure county seat of Dayton, sought to capitalize on the evolution issue. The trial was originally conceived as a kind of Chamber of Commerce spectacle to gain the town much-wanted publicity. Boosterism was a trait of the 1920s, dissected by Sinclair Lewis in his novel Babbitt. Informally, plans were hatched in a local drug-store over summer sodas and the amiable Scopes agreed to go along with the scheme to help put Dayton on the map (Ginger, p. 20). Dayton did attract attention, but not in the manner anticipated.

Dayton boosters fought vigorously to keep the subsequent court action in town and away from nearby Chattanooga. Eventually, the publicity generated by the charges attracted the interest of the national American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), who provided the legal services of Dudley Field Malone and Arthur Garfield Hays, lawyers of national reputation. The impending clash came to Mencken's attention through his wide-spread clipping service and friends who alerted him to events unfolding in the obscure town in the mountains of Tennessee. Initially, therefore, the Scopes trial began as a promotion, if not a circus. That is precisely how Duffy portrayed it in an early editorial-page cartoon, as he scoffed at the press agents and promoters of the event.

If the instigators of the prosecution of the willing Scopes envisioned nothing more than a civic promotion, others who became involved, including Mencken, viewed the prospects more soberly. Scopes's first defense counsel, John Randolf Neal, a distinguished former law school dean, put the issue succinctly: "The question...involves the freedom of teaching, or what is more important, the freedom of learning" (Ginger, p. 45). He was replaced as senior defense counsel by Darrow, however, who desired a broader fight.

William Jennings Bryan, for the prosecution, wanted to make battle for evolution and Fundamentalism. But the three-time Democratic presidential candidate and former Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson held a broader agenda. The pious religious issue held high political potential. Bryan volunteered his services on behalf of the prosecution team and abandoned his thriving Coral Gables real-estate business and Sunday preaching in Miami to undertake the fight for the Lord in Dayton. Bryan, at the end of his political road, had made millions in Florida real-estate. But he craved political power. The crusade offered an opportunity to construct a powerful political machine fueled by a vast coalition of active Christians who might somehow vault him back into a successful run for the presidency. Mencken recognized the case for all these things, and saw the trial as another device to further restrict free speech and expression. The zealots could use this means to right all that was wrong with scientific thought and further repress disconcerting ideas.

Accordingly, Mencken had personally convinced the famous criminal trial lawyer Clarence Darrow to defend Scopes. Defense of free speech struck to the heart of Mencken's motives; that and a desire to humiliate Bryan. He told Darrow, "Nobody gives a damn about that yap schoolteacher. The thing to do is make a fool out of Bryan" (Manchester, p. 140). Darrow and Bryan were old adversaries who had clashed publicly over the Fundamentalist issue earlier in the pages of the Chicago Tribune. Bryan lost that skirmish. Through Mencken's connivance, his newspaper, The Evening Sun, arranged to put up the bond and pay any damages incurred by defendant Scopes. Clearly, Mencken's influence prompted the extensive role played by the Sunpapers in the Scopes trial. Mencken displayed deep interest in the failings of the South generally. His excoriation of the American southland's indifference to the arts, "The Sahara of the Bozart," appeared first in The Evening Sun (Johnson, et al, p. 378).

Events were clearly beyond Scopes himself as the trial grew in importance (Scopes and Presley, p. 61) and Scopes felt that things "got past control" (Ginger, p. 20). Lawyers for each side, prominent and expensive, donated their services. Everyone concerned recognized and acknowledged the fact that Scopes was guilty, as charged, for violation of the Butler Law, as the legislation came to be known. Scopes himself freely admitted his violation. The entire case could have been disposed of in an afternoon. What the trial provided, however, was a public forum in open court before a jury for the issues to be debated. Darrow and Mencken looked beyond the inevitable conviction with relish to the follow-up appeal in a higher state court and perhaps the Supreme Court of the United States, eventually. The fact that two titans of opposing thought would do public battle only served to stimulate interest.

As newspapers and leading magazines, like Mencken's influential American Mercury, The Nation and others took up the cause, the trial assumed national importance. As the ballyhoo mounted and visitors poured into town, events assumed the trappings of a carnival. This is precisely the picture that cartoonist Duffy presented to his readers.

Coverage of the trial itself in July 1925, as reported in the two Baltimore Sunpapers, reflected in microcosm the several ways that the 50 to 200-plus (accounts vary, cf 1987, Williams,

p. 181; Manchester, p. 142; Ginger p. 93) newspaper reporters and magazine writers dealt with the issues. Press coverage of the trial was front-page news. The conflict over evolutionary and Fundamentalist views of man's origin assured almost universal interest (1989, Caudill, p. 3). And the nation's press responded and filled every available room in Dayton. Mencken and his party originally booked into rooms in Chattanooga but later shifted to Dayton (1987, Mencken, p. 218).

Even in that multitude, however, Mencken was clearly the leading media celebrity. He early identified the defendant as "the infidel Scopes" and the judicial process as the "Monkey trial" in Dayton, which he described as "the new Jerusalem" (Manchester, p. 140). Already the local boosters saw their early hopes to bring attention to Dayton begin to boomerang. News coverage was not complimentary. Mencken was simply being Mencken and his vitriolic copy that focused on the city, its inhabitants and visitors was sought by newspapers across the country. The Chattanooga News ran his copy locally.

The other members of the Sunpapers team, Kent and Hyde, solid, sober newsmen, filed meticulous and objective stories. Duffy, the fourth member of the team, sent back sketches of the townsfolk, the figures in the trial and some of the jurors as they were selected. Duffy's renderings were not unkind caricatures, but his artwork was stark and graphic, reflecting something of the raw-boned visage of the mountain people. Duffy's illustrations, oddly enough, did not accompany the Mencken stories--more color pieces than news reporting--including his portrait of the Klan and his night-time visitation to a revival meeting of Holy Rollers in the hills above Dayton.

Duffy's editorial art graced the solid news reporting of Frank Kent's dispatches for The Sun. Mencken provided readers of The Evening Sun with word pictures that placed them in the scene. Hyde wrote factual, straightforward accounts of what was actually happening at the trial itself. But Mencken was not writing for Baltimore readers alone; many editors bought his work--the closest he ever came to news syndication in his career (Manchester, p. 152). Consequently, local readers in Dayton read his stories, too. For example, the nearby Chattanooga News, circulated in Dayton, carried the Mencken stories that inflamed the local citizenry who were justifiably angered at being described as "morons" and "yokels" and worse. The local papers cut much of this; Mencken complained that the News "makes a frightful hash of my stuff" (1987, Mencken, p. 219). Mencken was at the top of his form; slashing, scornful and vituperative--his victims howled. He loved it.

Duffy, more like Mencken in outlook than his Sunpapers colleagues, reflected similar portrayals in his editorial cartoons. No humor lightened the scorn and contempt he felt for Bryan and his bigoted message. Subscribers in Baltimore were as upset as readers elsewhere. One official from the Baltimore Association of Commerce wrote The Sun that the paper's "unjust characterization of the people in the South" had hurt the city's business with that part of the country (Manchester, p. 152). Since Duffy was performing that service for The Sun's editorial pages, he had to share that indictment; Mencken did not appear in the Sun. Duffy was no less deadly with his art of ridicule than was Mencken with prose. Each, in his own way, attacked Bryan and his ideas as the trial progressed.

Duffy and Mencken left Dayton before the trial was complete, however. Mencken's work was done, even if the trial was not. Even before he left Baltimore, Mencken's letters reveal that he had to return to New York (1987, Mencken, p. 218, 221). His reporter's instinct did not desert him. The closing session was to be Darrow's and Mencken left the reporting to others. It was just as well Mencken left. Local ire was rising against him. He was the personification of those who came to scoff and mock the proceedings. Mencken, apparently unaware of the genuine anger of the townspeople, narrowly escaped actual physical assault. The crowd had to be content with tearing him limb from limb in effigy (Manchester, p. 152). Reporters Kent and Hyde remained for the wrap-up of the trial.

Consequently, Mencken and Duffy missed one of the greatest courtroom spectacles of the entire proceedings; the show-down performance with Darrow combating Bryan face to face. Darrow remembered Mencken's early advice: make a fool of Bryan. He did. On the stand, Bryan defended his Fundamentalist beliefs as an expert witness. Evolution was no longer on trial; Bryan, self-appointed interpreter of God's word, became the defendant.

Bryan's responses earned him widespread ridicule as he attempted to define the literal meaning of the Holy Bible. The dramatic theatrics of this event were captured in the 1945 play Inherit the Wind (Williams, p. 182). Publicly, it was the humiliating end of a once-great figure. Paradoxically, Bryan felt vindicated when defendant Scopes was convicted under the charges presented. Technically, the pious won; the law was later upheld by the state's higher court. Scopes's fine was refunded on a technical ruling. The show was over.

Pitiably, Bryan himself failed to recognize the public's general perception and basked in triumph. He spoke of a national speaking tour and future political plans. The following Sunday, however, he was dead, victim of a stroke brought on by a gargantuan meal combined with too many iced drinks and simmering summer heat. Mencken, in probably one of the few genuinely cruel acts of his public career, wrote a cutting editorial obituary for The Evening Sun (1991, Mencken, p. 604), later rewritten in an even more savage lead editorial for the October issue of The American Mercury (1955, Mencken, pp. 161-167). The Sunpapers, in an effort to atone (and to meet the criticism), assigned Gerald Johnson the job of writing a more fitting elegy for The Sun (Williams, p. 182).

Duffy, Mencken's protege, did not deign to acknowledge Bryan's death. No cartoon of any kind appeared. No mention was noted of Bryan's worthy past as "the Great Commoner" or author of the famous "Cross of Gold" speech that inspired the populist cause and spurred movement for reform. Duffy, a life-long liberal, was affronted by the religious bigotry he had seen in the hinterland espoused by a demagogue. Duffy, like most Irish-Catholics, took his religion seriously. What he had witnessed in the American South was disturbing and, with Mencken, he was equally unforgiving. A former colleague observed that Duffy contained " an immense capacity for hatred, but his hatred does not rise to incandescence except when it is turned on injustice" (1958, Johnson, p. 93). Duffy saw much injustice in the bigotry displayed by Bryan's last public performance. Later, Mencken said of Bryan and the Scopes episode, "Well, we killed the son of a bitch" (Manchester, p. 155). Nevertheless, Mencken wrote, in a private letter, that "Bryan's death fills me with sadness" (1987, Mencken, p. 223).

The forces of Fundamentalism fell back in disarray but the issue has never really disappeared. Campaigns against "Godless" teaching and book-banning occur with relentless regularity to the present day. Young Scopes left town shortly to go to work as a geologist, happy to escape notoriety. Dayton deservedly fell back into obscurity but still serves as a useful metaphor for concerned Americans to guard their right to speak and think. Mencken fought other battles to protect free speech but despaired over future prospects for that essential liberty. The Twenties witnessed other Mencken battles, to be sure.

But the work and recognition of Edmund Duffy was just beginning. He went on to spend the next quarter-century at the

Sun, gracing its editorial page with some of the most powerful work from any cartoonist in American history. He won three Pulitzer Prizes, one of only five to achieve that distinction. Later, in the mid-1940s, Duffy virtually served as a national cartoonist; his work appeared for a decade on the editorial page of the *Saturday Evening Post*, read by millions each week. Even in that conservative environment, however, Duffy remained fiercely independent; outspokenly liberal and an artist of uncompromising integrity. One admirer, Nunnally Johnson defined his credo: "If Duffy don't believe it, Duffy don't draw it" (1948, N. Johnson, p. 26). Mencken, not lavish with praise, described Duffy as "a great cartoonist" and, finally, "a genius" (*Sun* file; 1992, Manchester). Later, another former *Sun* colleague, Gerald W. Johnson, wrote that Duffy "was regarded with the uneasy delight that a zoo-keeper has in a particularly fine Bengal tiger ... everybody shuddered to think what would happen if he ever went on a rampage" (1948, G. Johnson, p. 28). The Scopes trial was the first of several Duffy "rampages."

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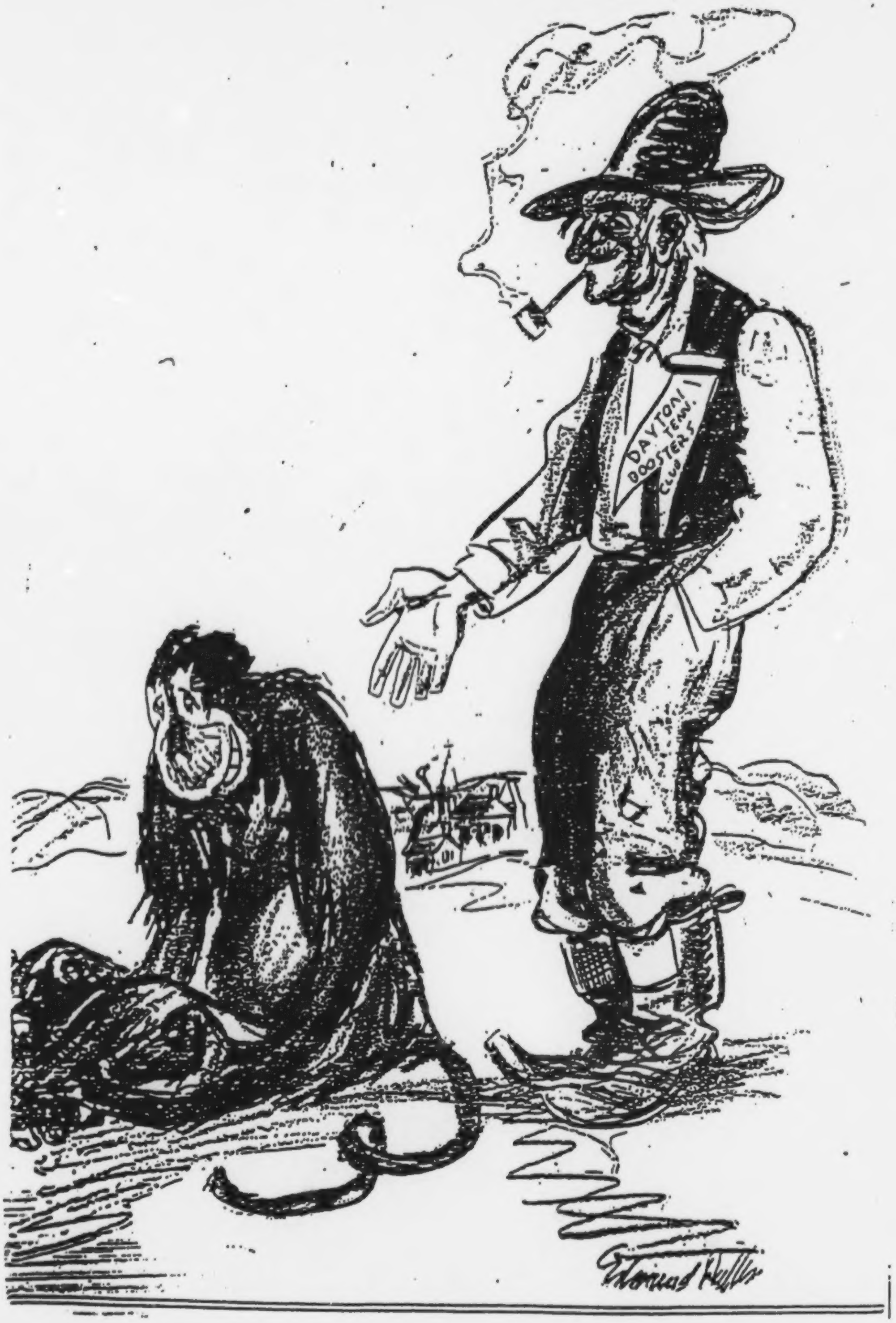
APPENDIX A

He Put Us On The Map


DAYTON TENN.
BOOSTERS CLUBS

THE SUN (Baltimore) May 25, 1925

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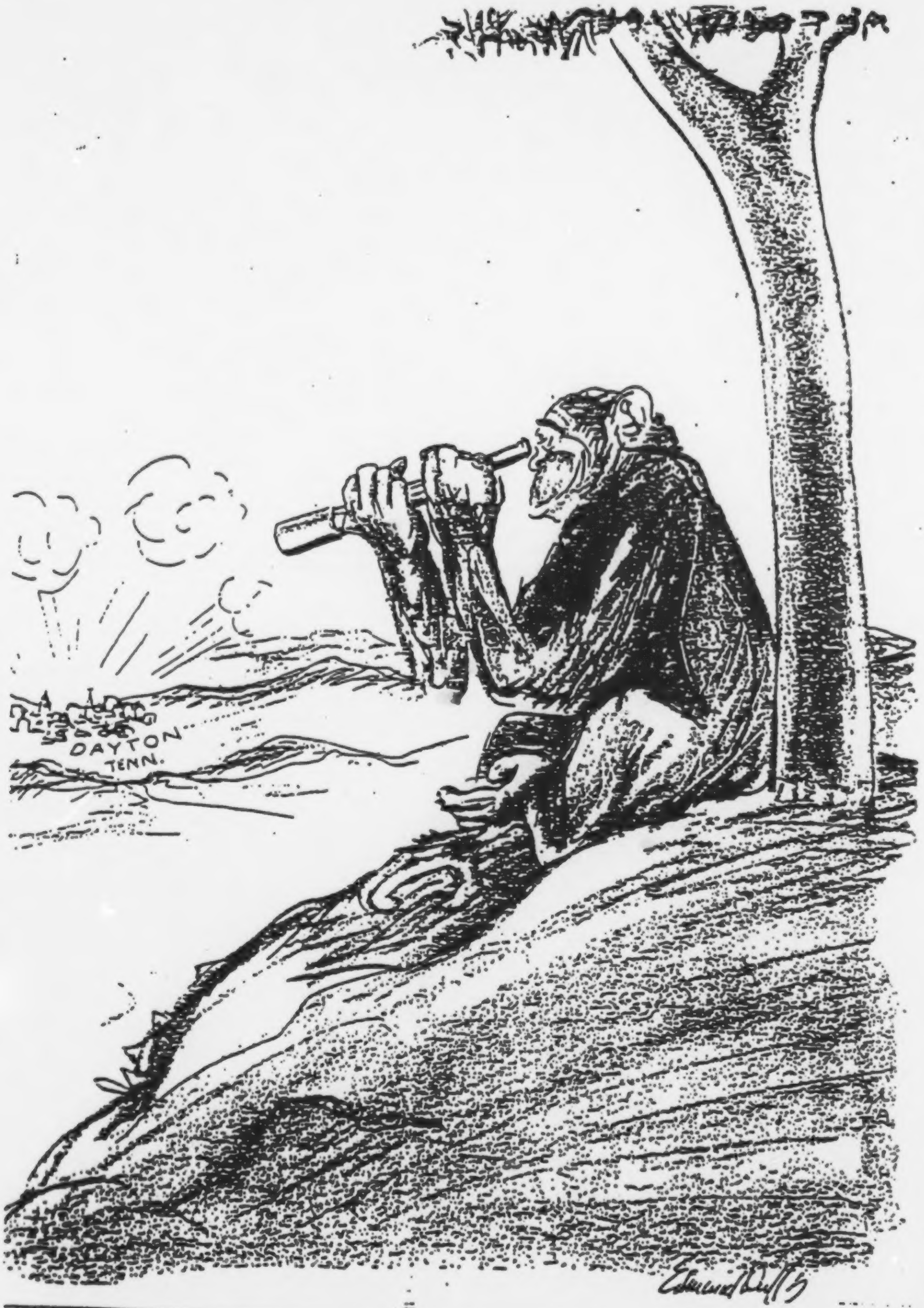
The Unofficial Observer


DAYTON
TENN.
Edmund Duffy

THE SUN (Baltimore) June 10, 1925

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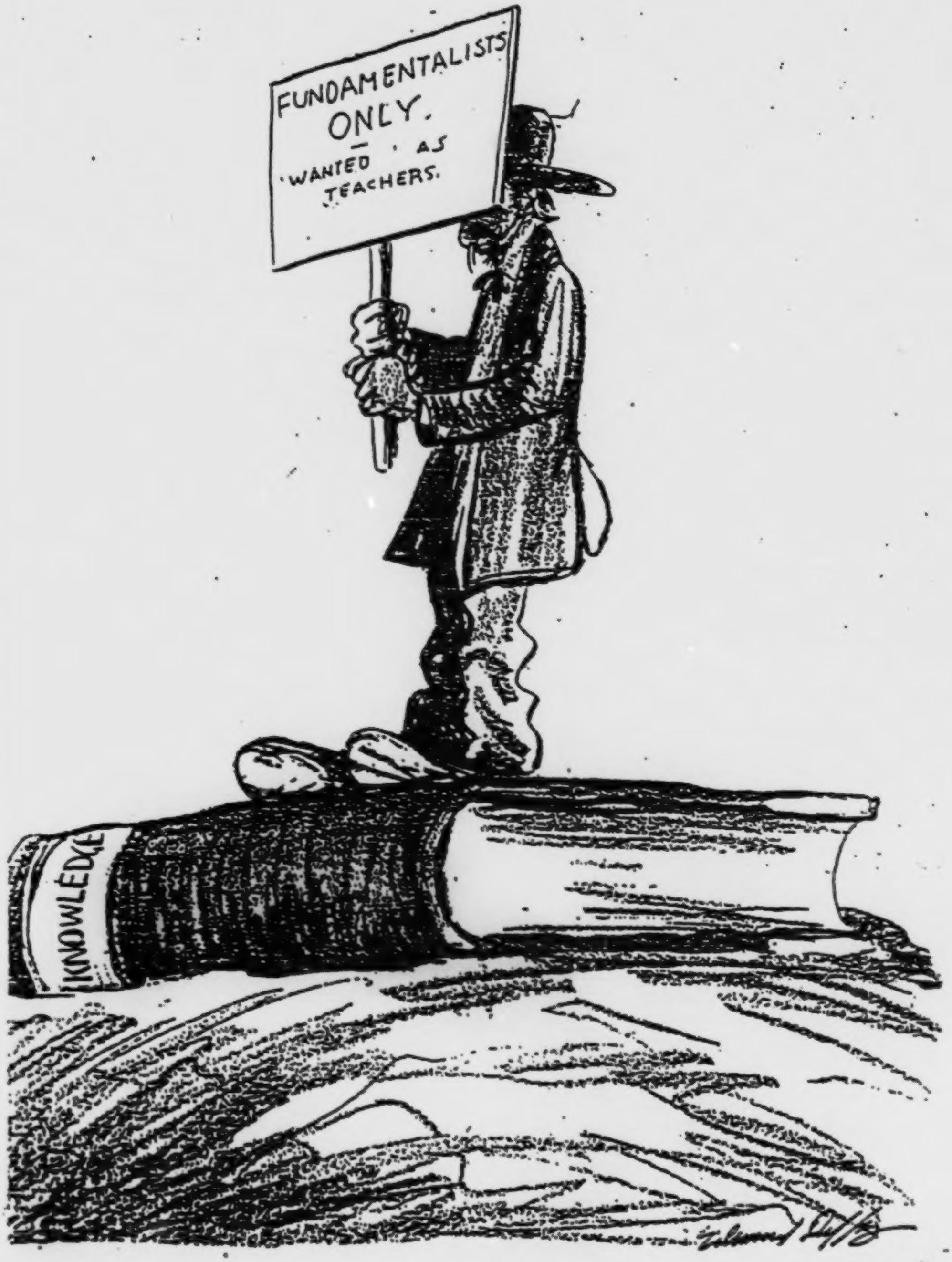
A Closed Book In Tennessee


FUNDAMENTALISTS ONLY. WANTED AS TEACHERS.
KNOWLEDGE

THE SUN (Baltimore) June 19, 1925

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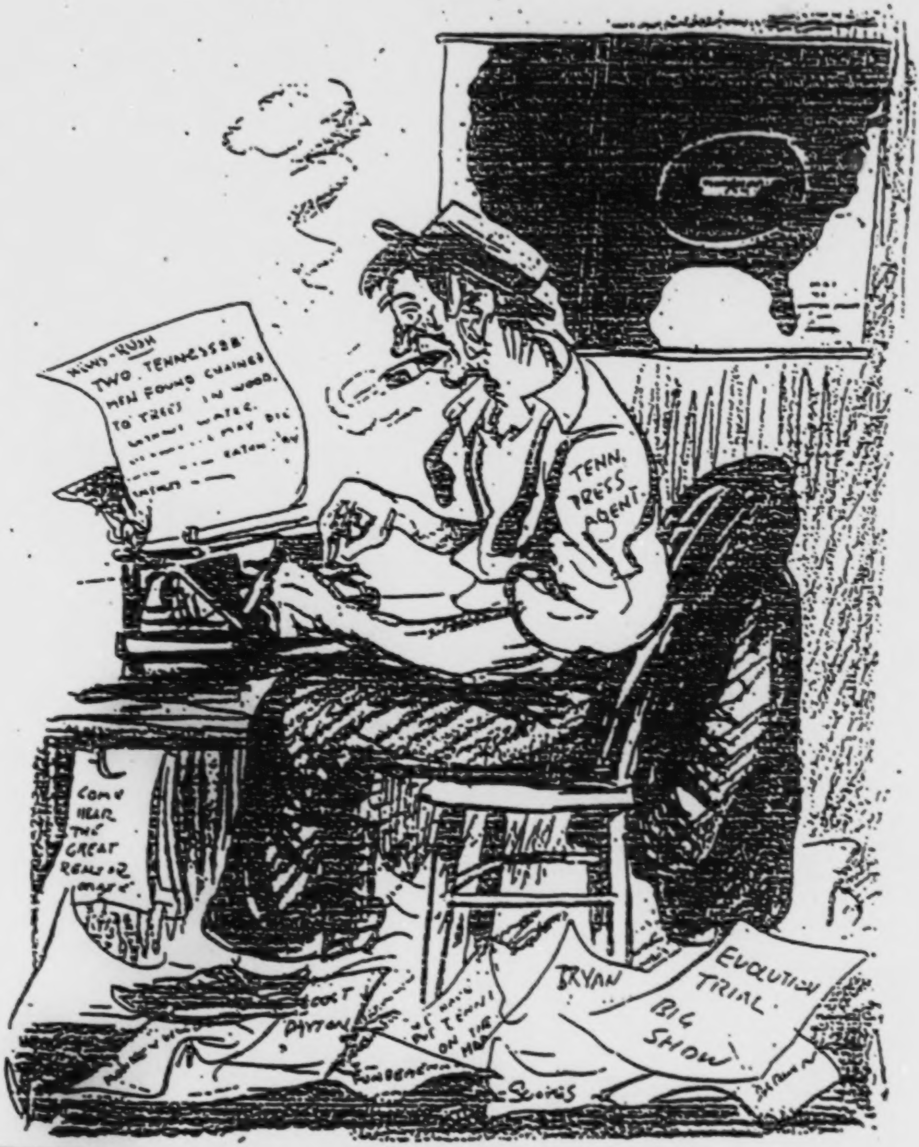
Working Overtime


NEWS-RUSH
TWO TENNESSEE
MEN FOUND CHAINED
TO TREES IN WOOD.
WITHOUT WATER.
MAY DIE
EATEN BY
TENN. PRESS AGENT.
COME HEAR THE GREAT
DAYTON
BRYAN
EVOLUTION TRIAL
BIG SHOW
SCOPES

THE SUN (Baltimore) July 7, 1925

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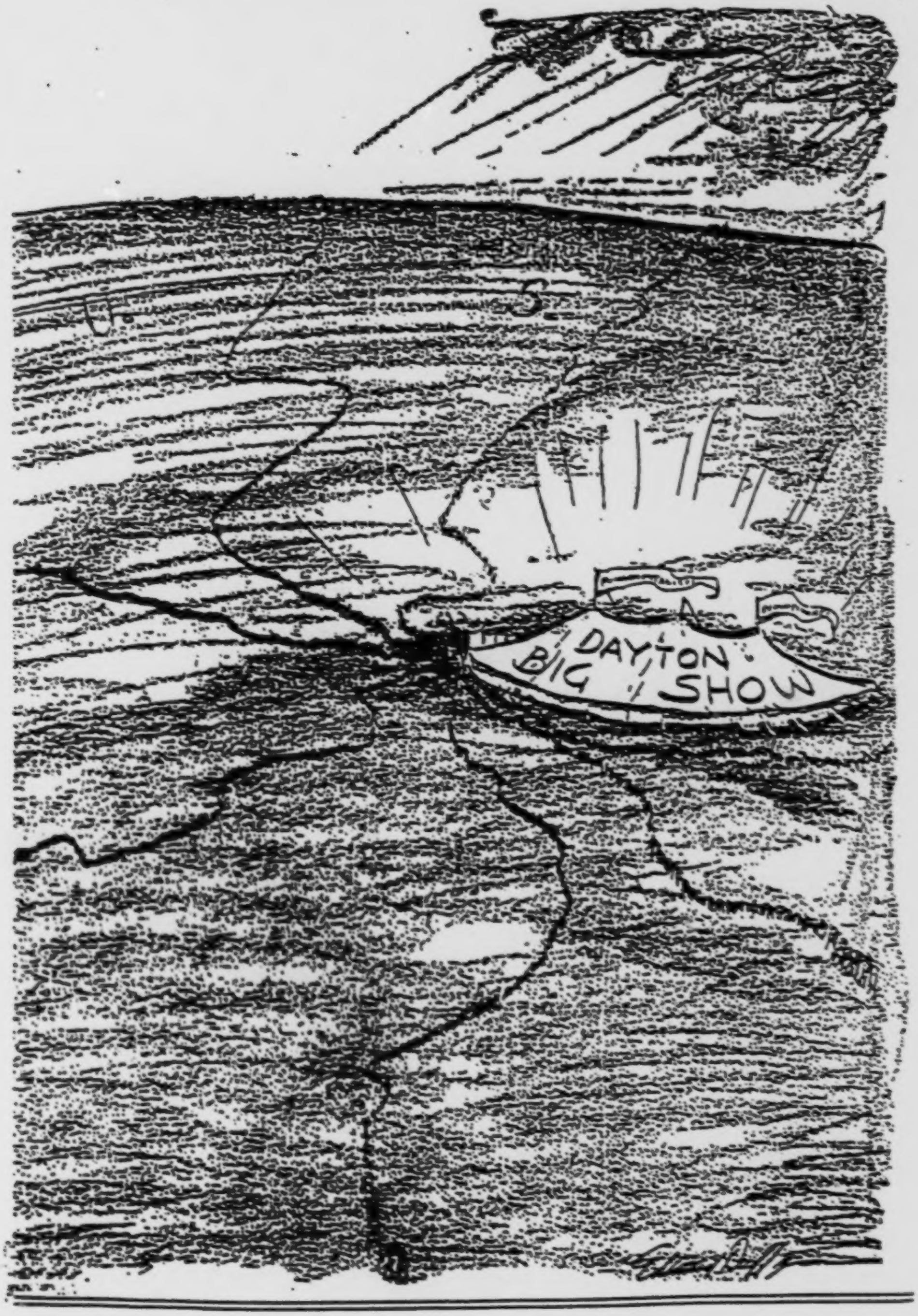
A 25

"Step Right This Way, Ladies And Gents"


U. S.
DAYTON BIG SHOW

THE SUN (Baltimore) July 10, 1

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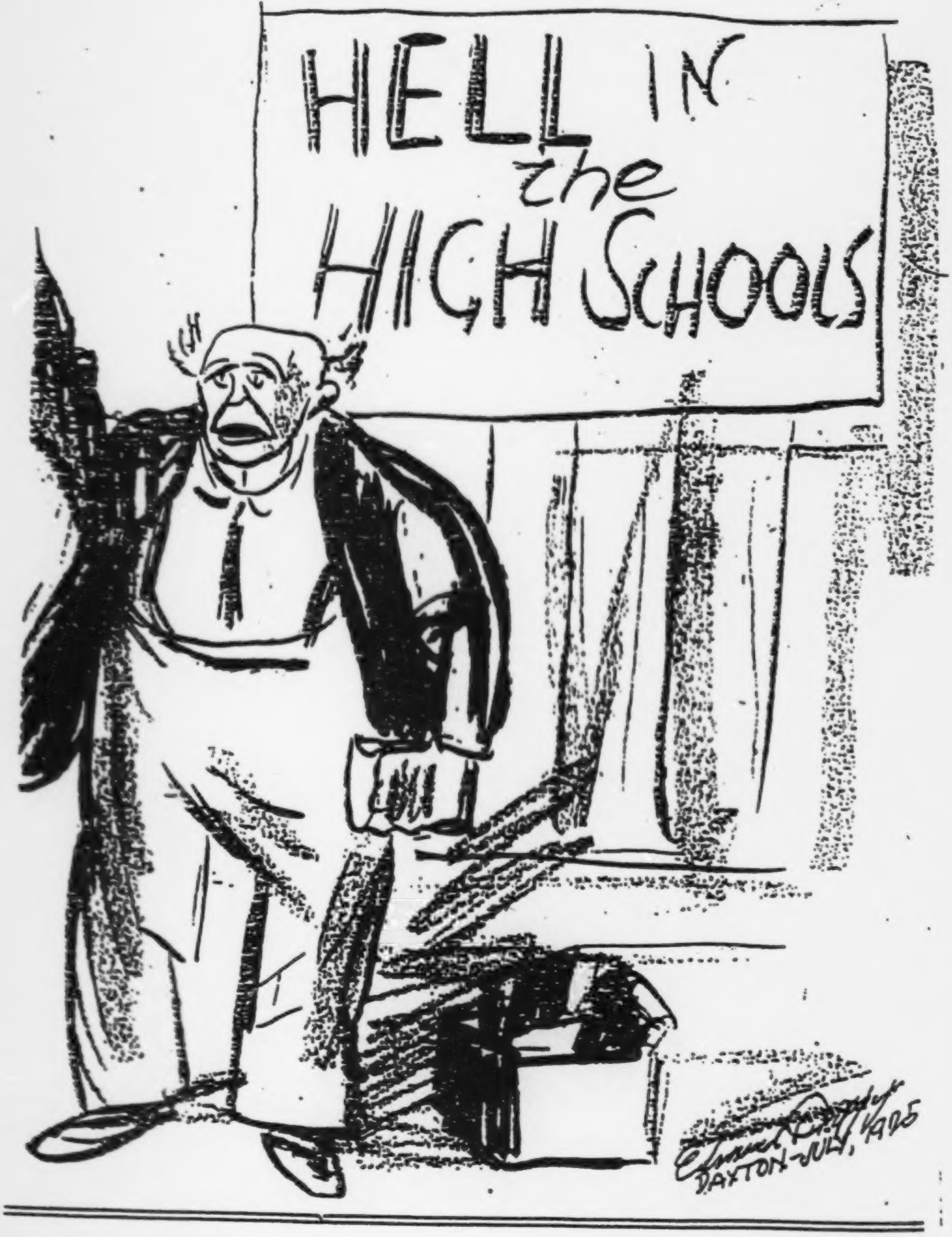
A 26

The Dayton War Cry


HELL IN the HIGH SCHOOLS
DAYTON-JULY, 1925

THE SUN (Baltimore) July 15, 1925

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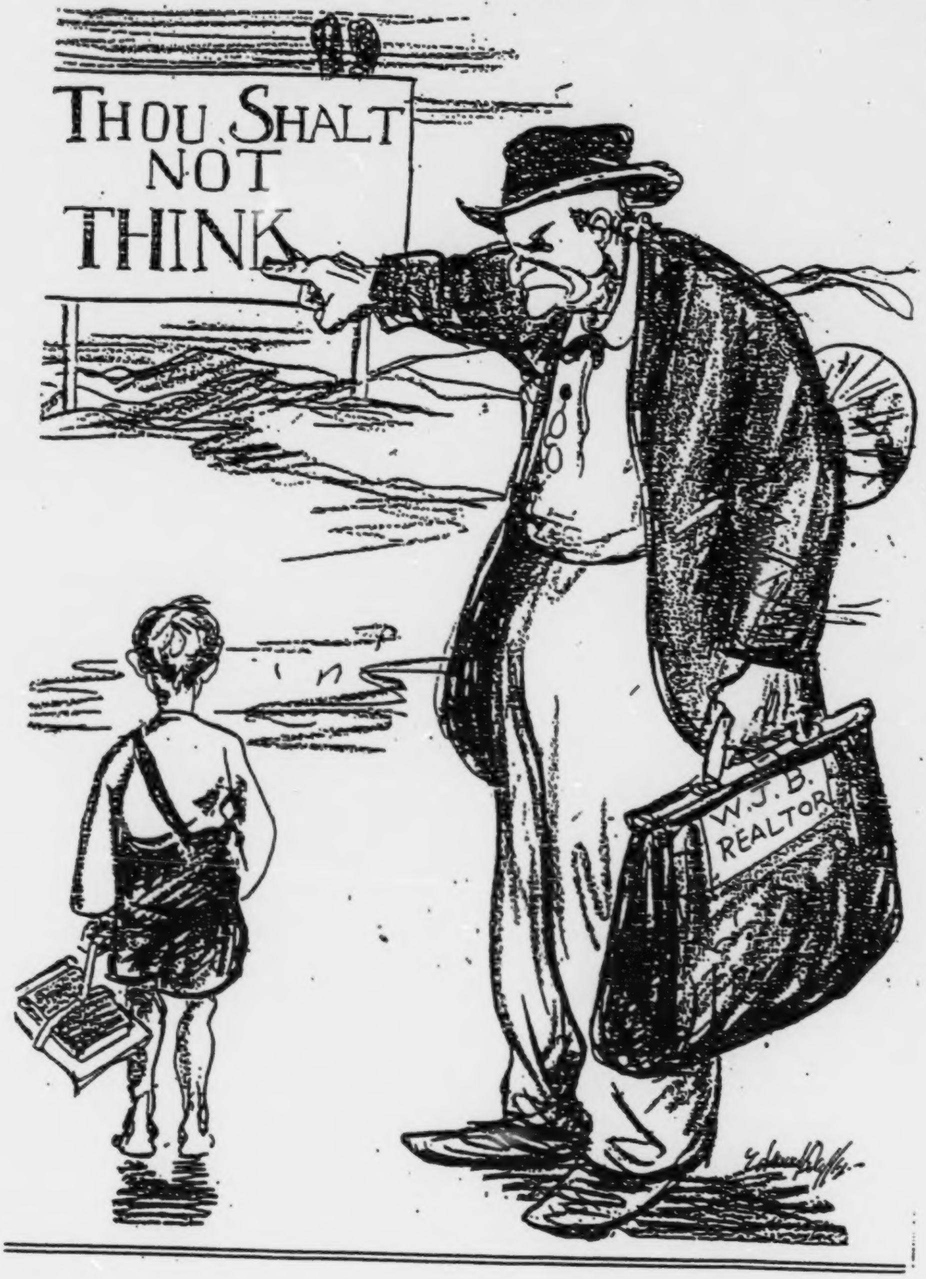
The Verdict


THOU SHALT NOT THINK
W.J.B. REALTOR

THE SUN (Baltimore) July 22, 1925

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SKETCHES OF LIFE AND SOCIETY: FOREIGN NEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE IN THE *NEW YORK TRIBUNE*, 1841-45

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SKETCHES OF LIFE AND SOCIETY:
FOREIGN NEWS AND CORRESPONDENCE IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE, 1841-45

In 1869, Horace Greeley, the aging founder of the *New York Tribune*, sent word through Managing Editor Whitelaw Reid to his London correspondent to "keep track of social movements and other matters 'sides politics and literature." Somewhat skeptically, George Washburn Smalley wrote back from London that he certainly would give his attention to Mr. Greeley's wish but that his experience told him that the *Tribune*'s columns had room for little except political news when it came to correspondence from Europe.[1]

Behind this exchange were conflicting ideas of what the *Tribune*'s foreign correspondence should be. Greeley's vision of it as clearly distinct from news was losing ground in the 1860s, even in his own paper, to the convention of correspondence as a form of news, with a stress on recency and on political events. Greeley's alternative, originating in the travel-letter tradition and offering a broader range of topics, had dominated the columns of the *Tribune* in the paper's early years, and the form and topics of that alternative are the main concern of this study. Foreign correspondence as envisioned by Greley defied the tradition established by other penny papers and was, this study argues, clearly influenced by his background as a magazine editor. While it is a form of foreign correspondence that Greeley's contemporaries and successors in the daily press more or less abandoned, there have been calls recently for a foreign-news journalism quite similar to that championed by the founder of the *Tribune* 150 years ago, and the study concludes by discussing that connection.

To put the foreign correspondence of Greeley's paper in perspective, the paper devotes considerable space to discussion the background against which it appeared. First, the historical role of foreign news in the American press in general is examined, followed by an account of how the penny papers preceding the *Tribune* had treated news and correspondence from abroad. To show that Greeley's experience with foreign correspondence went beyond the *Tribune*, the study then discusses the content and impact of his *New-Yorker* magazine. The overall foreign-news content of the *Tribune* is examined next,to show the relationship between news and correspondence, and the paper then moves on to a discussion of how the form for letters from abroad took shape in Greeley's paper in the first half of the 1840s.

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[1] Whitelaw Reid to George W. Smalley, June 18, 1869; Smalley to Reid, July 8, 1869; Reid papers, Library of Congress; as Smalley's biographer points out, relations between Greeley and Smalley were not the best; Joseph J. Mathews, *George W. Smalley, Forty Years a Foreign Correspondent* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 39.

THE AMERICAN PRESS AND FOREIGN NEWS

Although journalism histories sometimes touch on the presence of foreign news in the American media, long-term studies of newspaper content are rare, and the few that have been made vary greatly in papers and time periods studied.[2] Most studies note a declining share of foreign news over time, a trend occasionally broken by what Al Hester terms "news storms," international events of a magnitude generating increased attention, such as the two world wars.[3] According to Michael Emery, the shrinking percentage of international news had reached an all-time low in 1988.[4]

Of the explanations offered for the decline, one is essentially political or cultural, connecting the falling foreign-news percentage to sentiments in society as a whole. Looking at developments over 300 years, German press historian Jürgen Wilke sees the falling proportion of international items in the American press (a share consistently smaller than those of the press in France, Germany and England) as evidence of growing isolationism both in the press and in the country in general.[5] Touching on Wilke's explanation in a more positive way, Donald Avery's study of press content around the years of the War of 1812 considers the shift away from foreign news an expression of a growing sense of American identity; the declining stress on items from abroad meant that the newspaper was no longer "a captive of foreign events and issues."[6]

Another explanation deals with the character of journalism itself. Although Donald

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[2] In terms of looking at overall content, only a handful of studies have been made; Jurgen Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage and International Flow of News over Three Centuries," Gazette 38 (1987):147-80; Donald R. Avery, "The Emerging American Newspaper: Discovering the Home Front," American Journalism I (2, Winter 1984):51-66; Donald Lewis Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News, 1820-1860," Journalism History 8 (2, Summer 1981):38-50; referred to but not extensively related are two studies of elite newspapers by Michael Emery and Frank Luther Mott; George Garneau, "Foreign news grows, but is reported here less," Editor & Publisher, Feb. 10, 1990, 18; Mott, The News in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 124; a sixth historical study analyzes foreign news but not in relation to overall content, see Al Hester, Susan Parker Humes and Christopher Bickers, "Foreign News Content in Colonial North American Papers, 1764-1775," Journalism Quarterly 57 (Spring 1980):18-22; a study looking at one (albeit important) part of one newspaper is Christine Ogan, Ida Plymale, D. Lynn Smith, William H. Turpin, and Donald Lewis Shaw, "The Changing Front Page of the New York Times, 1900-1970," Journalism Quarterly 52 (Summer 1975):340-44; not included in this discussion are the numerous contemporary studies examining the foreign news-content of American mass media; for a discussion of these, see K. Kyoon Hur, "A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research," Critical Studies in Mass Communication 1 (1984):365-78,

[3] Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction in International Information Flow," Gazette 19 (1973):238-47; Mott, 124; Wilke, 159.

[4] Garneau, 18; Emery looked at the 1971-1987 period and found a decline from 10.2 to 2.6 percent between 1971 and 1988; contrary to other studies, Mott (124) noted a long-term rise from 3 to 8.2 percent, during the period he studied, 1910-1950, with high figures for war years.

[5] Wilke, 158-59; Wilke's analysis of Boston papers showed a reduction of foreign news share from 81 percent in 1705 to 9 percent in 1906.

[6] Avery, 52, 64; Avery's sample of some 30 papers from 1808 to 1812 showed a drop from 33.8 percent in 1809 to 7.5 in 1812.

Shaw characterizes the diminishing share of foreign news in the U.S. press between 1820 and 1860 partly as a sign of "the emergence of an American community," he also attributes it to the rise of local editors and reporters as news sources, to "finding news closer to home."[7] That is also the explanation offered by historians discussing the content of the American press in a more general context. Starting in the 1830s, writes Michael Schudson, the American newspaper for the first time "made it a regular practice to print political news, not just foreign but domestic, and not just national but local."[8]

While the share of news thus seemed to be shrinking in the 1830s, that decade was also, paradoxically, a period when the American press reached out to collect news from abroad, according to histories of newsgathering. Richard Schwarzlose concludes, for instance, that reader appetite for foreign news was as great as ever in the 1830s, To satisfy that appetite, enterprising newspapers went to lengths never before seen in gathering news.[9] The seeming contradiction between decreasing amounts of foreign news and growing concern with gathering information from abroad can be explained by pointing to the way the news reached the American press. In the past, newspapers in the United States had been passive receivers of vast amounts of news from abroad. While publishing less foreign and more domestic news in the 1800s, newspapers were shifting toward being more active gatherers of news abroad, taking control of the news flow by collecting the news at the source. How that shift came about is discussed next.

PENNY PRESS PREDECESSOR: THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE *HERALD*

Histories of foreign correspondence routinely claim that the 1830s penny press had a major impact on the gathering of news from abroad by the American news media.[10] Apart from a tendency to give the role of main innovator to James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald, there is not, however, sufficient recognition in this account that there were great differences between individual penny papers.[11] The first successful one-penny newspaper in New York, the Sun, did not break any radically new ground in the area of foreign news when it started publication in 1833. In fact, the penny newcomer stayed well within the established practices of journalism when it began publication of a digest of news from the European press in October 1833, because that was a tradition of long-standing.[12] The Sun's summaries from abroad dealt mainly with political news, relying on foreign newspapers for their information. Occasionally, other sources long used by American newspapers to obtain foreign information, such as shipmasters, passengers and private letters, provided the penny newcomer with items from around the world.[13] Correspondents writing from abroad were rare in the Sun, appearing only on a couple of occasions, and a regular foreign correspondent was not employed by the paper until 1843.[14] It was not until the arrival of the New York Herald in 1835 that a penny paper became one of the leaders in the gathering of news from abroad.

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[7] Shaw, 43, 39; Shaw's analysis of major paper across the country noted a drop from 28 percent in the 1820-1832 period to 19 percent in the 1847-1860 period.

[8] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 22; cf. Mott, 243; John Tebbel, The Compact History of the American Newspaper (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 97; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Seventh ed., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 97.

[9] Schwarzlose, The Nation's Newsbrokers, Vol. 1: The Formative Years, from Pretelegraph to 1865 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1989), 17, 35; T.H. Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," New York Historical Society Quarterly 42 (Jan. 1958):49, 55-56.

[10] Robert W. Desmond, The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century (Iowa City: University of Iowa press, 1978), 93-95; Giddings; James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860," New York History 45 (April 1964):102.

[11] Schwarzlose, 21-22.

As already mentioned, the Herald's stature in this area of news collection has long been routinely acknowledged by historians, who sometimes even claim that the paper originated foreign correspondence.[15] Following the lead of Frederic Hudson, author of one of the earliest histories of American journalism--and, coincidentally, managing editor of the Herald--many accounts claim that publisher James Gordon Bennett established the first network of foreign correspondents after going to Europe aboard the first steamer to sail between New York and Britain in 1838.[16] That, however, is overstating the case. As a closer reading the the columns of the Herald shows, the systematic use of foreign correspondence in Bennett's paper predated his voyage to Europe.

Bennett had begun by taking steps to gather foreign news more aggressively on the American side of the Atlantic. With his paper barely a year old, Bennett introduced a new digest from England with a boastful account of how his cutter the "Herald" had beaten the news boat of the Courier and Enquirer, one of the largest commercial papers in New York.[17] In 1837, he refined his system to include several boats, two of which met incoming ships out at sea to bring in the latest news, while a third plied the waters of New York harbor. When winter made the harbor unapproachable, Bennett's two schooners would land their information on Long Island, whence it would reach the Herald office by pony express.[18]

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[12] See, for instance, Sun, Oct. 24, 1833, 2; Nov. 2, 2; Nov. 18, 2; Nov. 21, 1; Nov. 27, 2; Dec. 2, 2; Dec. 11, 2; Dec. 12, 2.

[13] Sun, Nov. 19, 1833, 2; Dec. 11, 2; Dec. 24, 2; Dec. 31, 2; Jan. 10, 1834, 2; Jan. 18, 2; Jan. 22, 1; Feb. 5, 2; Feb. 7, 2; March 13, 2; Desmond, The Information Process, 87-89.

[14] Sun, Oct. 24, 1833, 1;, Feb. 12, 1834; Desmond, The Press and World Affairs (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937). 17.

[15] Desmond, The Press, 16-17; Desmond, Information Process, 89-93; Hohenberg, 33; Hudson, 451; Don C. Seitz, The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928), 60-61; Oliver Carlson, The Man Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942), 201-02; Tebbel, 98; equally full of praise but less conclusive is an earlier account, Isaac Pray, Memoirs of James Gordon Bennett and His Times (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), 249-51.

[16] Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 451; Herald, April 25, 1838, 2; July 20, 1838, 2

[17] Herald, May 6, 1836, 2.

As the preceding paragraph implies, Bennett's aggressiveness was driven by a heated rivalry with established mercantile papers such as the Courier and Enquirer. At the end of 1837, a standing notice in Bennett's paper announced that "for many weeks past we have beaten the Wall street papers in ship news, foreign and domestic arrivals, and local intelligence of every kind."[19] For foreign news, that rivalry resulted in an increasing frequency of publication. In 1836, the average interval between the publication of items from abroad in Bennett's paper was eight days, a number that shrank to less than five in 1837 and less than three the following year, bringing the Herald's frequency in line with that of leading Wall Street papers.[20]

Bennett's rivalry with the Wall Street press also led him to focus more and more on business and economic information from abroad. In 1836, the Herald started publishing reports from the Liverpool cotton market, the French commodity exchanges in Le Havre, and the London Money Market, and the following year, such market reports accompanied almost every European digest.[21] This type of information about foreign exchanges had long been a staple of the Wall Street papers; the Courier and Enquirer, for example, was already publishing reports from London, Liverpool, Havre, Paris and Antwerp on a regular basis when Bennett began making them part of the Herald's foreign news in 1836.[22]

The Herald's move in the direction of the commercial press was important, for it was from the demand for commercial intelligence that the paper's first regular use of foreign correspondents was to come. The paper had occasionally used foreign correspondents since it first started, often in the form of letters from American travellers abroad.[23] Dependent on the availability of travellers willing to contribute to the Herald, travel letters were by nature infrequent and irregular, however, and it was not until the spring of 1837 that more regular foreign correspondence began appearing in the paper. In March, Bennett started publishing letters from brokerage firms in Liverpool and Le Havre about French and British market conditions, and from then on, letters from Liverpool and Le Havre became fairly regular, accompanied by occasional "private correspondences" from London.[24] The former dealt almost exclusively with the markets, while the London letters, by different writers, sometimes also discussed politics and the theatre. What they had in common, however, was a stress on the recency of the information, since commercial news needed to be fresh to be of value to merchants and speculators.

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[18] Herald, March 29, 1837, 2; Dec. 4, 1937, 2; Aug., 7, 2; Sept. 16, 2; Oct. 21, 1; Dec. 4, 2; Dec. 6, 2; Dec. 27, 2, 4; Jan. 5, 1838, 4;.Dec. 16, 1837, 2;Jan. 29, 1838, 2.

[19] Herald, Dec. 28, 1837-Jan. 19, 1838.

[20] For the interval calculations, all Herald issues of 1836-1838 were examined; to some extent, external circumstances may explain the change: the Panic of 1837 made information from Europe vital, and in 1838, Bennett's own correspondence from Europe meant that information from there was published almost daily for six months; randomly selected sample months of the Courier and Enquirer (July-September, 1836) and the Journal of Commerce (July-August, 1837) yielded average intervals of 3.8 and 2.4 days, respectively; obviosly, the Herald's 1836 interval was considerably longer than that of the Courier and Enquirer, even for the same months during which the commercial paper was examined; cf. the figures for the Sun, note 25.

[21] Herald, Feb. 29, 1836; July 7, 2; July 25, 2; Sept. 5, 2; Oct. 7; Oct. 14, 2; Nov. 3, 2; Dec. 2, 2.

[22] Courier and Enquirer, July-September, 1836.

[23] Herald, Sept. 8-12; 14, 17, 22, 1835; Aug. 8, 1837, 2; Jan. 24, 1838, 2; Oct. 3, 4.

As 1837 progressed, Bennett's network of correspondents grew, and by December he claimed to have "stationary" correspondents in Jamaica, London and Liverpool, Le Havre and Paris.[25] Among those, the ones in London, Liverpool and Le Havre were contributing regularly in the spring of 1838.[26] Spurred by Bennett's initiative (and constant boasting, possibly), the papers of the commercial press were also establishing foreign correspondents abroad, alongside if not ahead of the Herald publisher. The Courier and Enquirer was running regular dispatches by "XYZ" from London and Paris as early as 1836, and a year later, when Bennett's network of correspondents was beginning to take shape, the Journal of Commerce was relying on regular contributions from writers in London, Liverpool, Havre and Turkey. In 1839, the Journal's network had grown to include regular reports not only from London, Liverpool and Havre but Havana, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, Marseilles, Valparaiso, Bermuda, Manchester and Mazatlan as well.[27] As with the Herald, the foreign correspondence of the two leading commercial papers included a great deal of business and economic news, but the writers also dealt with politics.

What Bennett and his rivals had established by the 1830s, then, was a form of foreign correspondence where the stress was on recency and on news of politics and economics. It was a form that the Tribune chose not to follow when it came on the scene a few years later, and the following section explores reasons why.

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[24] Herald, March 17, 1837, 2; March 21, 2; March 22, 2; March 25, 1837, 2; March 28, 2; April 6, 2; April 25, 2; June 2, 2; June 3, 2; June 8, 2; June 13, 2; July 6, 1; July 11, 2; July 26, 2; Aug. 1, 2 Aug. 7, 2; Aug. 12, 2; Aug. 16, 2; Aug. 18, 2; Aug. 31, 1, 2; Sept. 23, 1; Oct. 6, 2; Oct. 21, 2; Oct. 27, 1; Oct. 30, 1.

[25] Herald, Aug. 8, 1837, 2; May 31, 2; Aug. 2, 2; Dec. 1, 1; Herald, Oct. 27,1837, 1; Dec. 13, 2; there was some inconsistency in Bennett's announcements, however; a list of correspondents published earlier in December gave only Jamaica (permanent) and London (occasional) as foreign ones; Dec. 8, 2.

[26] Herald, Feb. 27, 1838, 2; March 8, 2; March 10, 2; March 12; March 3, 4; April 15, 4.

[27] Journal of Commerce, July 10, 1837, 2; July 24, 2; July 25, 2; July 31, 4; Aug. 2, 2; Aug. 10, 4; Aug. 11, 4; Aug. 16, 2, 4; Aug. 28, 4; Aug. 30, 4; July 1-Sept. 24, 1839; Courier and Enquirer, Feb. 29, 1836, 2; March 22, 2; April 9, 2; April 27, 2; April 28, 2; May 3, 2; May 20, 2; May 25, 2; July 25, 2; Aug. 4, 2; Aug. 6, 2; Aug. 8, 2; Aug. 24, 2; Sept. 5, 2.

MAGAZINE ORIGINS: THE FOREIGN NEWS OF THE *NEW-YORKER*

If commercial considerations and a frantic race for early and accurate news were what drove the initial use of regular foreign correspondents in the Herald, other influences played as important a role in the foreign-news coverage of the Tribune. Greeley wanted his paper to be different from the penny newspapers which had preceded it, which his autobiography characterized as "a dry summary of the most important or the most interesting occurrences of the day."[28] Announcing the second "volume" of his paper in the spring of 1842 (and the need for a price increase), Greeley told readers that he had set his aim higher than letting the paper consist of "a synopsis of the fires, murders, accidents, crimes and trials of the day." The Tribune was to "reflect and partake in the mighty Intellectual and Moral movement of our age," and present "original Reports of all interesting Lectures, Conversations, Public Meetings, &c, &c." Through "extensive correspondence at Washington and elsewhere," readers would be given "fresh, full and accurate accounts of whatever of interest is transpiring in the world around us."[29]

Historians routinely note the difference between the Tribune and the penny papers that had come before it, but little except Greeley's vision has been offered as an explanation for the difference. This study argues that his previous publication experience is crucial to understanding the philosophy behind the Tribune as it pertained to the content in general and to foreign news in particular. As the penny press was rising to prominence in New York in the years around 1835, Greeley was engaged in the editing of a different kind of publication, the weekly magazine New-Yorker. Published between 1834 and 1841, the New-Yorker is characterized in standard journalism histories as a literary magazine, but that is to account for only part of its purpose.[30]

Although the New-Yorker certainly contained a great deal of literary material, Greeley had wider ambitions for his weekly. Greeting readers in the magazine's fourth year, the editor noted that the New-Yorker's contents was "devoted in nearly equal proportions to Literature in the more restricted sense and to the current intelligence of the day." In language foreshadowing that of his Tribune announcement five years later, Greeley considered the aim of the latter department to "embody the News of the Day, Foreign and Domestic, proceedings of Congress and acts of the National Executive, and more summarily the State Legislature, with a still briefer notation of the more important Legislative measures of other States; also an impartial account of all important political movements and doings throughout the Union--Conventions, nominations, Elections, &c, &c."[31]

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[28] Horace Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life, Vol. 1 (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971, reprint of 1873 ed.), 141.

[29] Tribune, April 12, 1842, 1.

[30] Emery and Emery, 104; Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 183; Crouthamel (100) calls it "a weekly sheet of miscellany"; one of the few histories to touch on the range of the magazine is Willard G. Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghtom Mifflin, 1927), 211-12.

As Greeley saw it, the lack of attention to non-literary matter such as "elevated political discussion" had been a major shortcoming of the magazines already in existence when he launched the New-Yorker. Moreover, although he wished for a readership consisting of "the scholar in the closet, the merchant at his counter, and the farmer at his evening fireside," Greeley's main target for his publication mainly was "the great laboring mass" unable to afford other reading matter." (In Greeley's estimation, that audience amounted to as much as a third of New York City's adult population.) In other cities, magazines amenable to the budgets of such readers did exist, he noted, but they contained only "1. Light stories; 2. Funny anecdotes and scraps; 3. Shocking murders." Consequently, Greeley thought the public deserved a magazine whose purpose was "chronicling in our columns all important events of whatever character."[32]

Greeley's remark about readers being unable to afford either newspapers or magazines is an indication that he saw the New-Yorker as an alternative to "the large daily journals," and in a review of the magazine's history he also implied that it had been challenged by the advent of the penny press. What each 16-page edition offered was, in fact, in many ways similar to what readers could find in their daily newspapers, particularly in the area of foreign news. By 1840, Greeley had divided the New-Yorker's contents into three sections: literature, "political intelligence" and "general intelligence," with the last section being a "condensed but comprehensive summary of News of the Day, Foreign and Domestic."[33]

Like the daily press, Greeley's magazine obtained most of its news from abroad by clipping from foreign papers, particularly English ones, which were brought in by ship from Europe. There was little difference between the New-Yorker's presentation of the news and that of the Herald. Both tended to stress first the carrier of the news (the ship itself and the length of its Atlantic crossing), next pass a general judgment on its importance, and then proceed to a country-by-country review, most often dominated by Great Britain. News from Europe could be found in at least every other issue of the magazine, which was only slightly less often than in the daily press. When mail-carrying packets from Europe were late, Greeley like his colleagues in the daily press grew impatient over the lack of foreign news. Items from elsewhere, such as Mexico, South America and China, was published more sporadically, the result of less regular communication networks.[34]

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[31] New-Yorker, March 25, 1837, 15.

[32] New-Yorker, March 13, 1841, 409; it should be noted, however, that the New-Yorker did publish news about one of the most notorious crimes in New York in the 1830s, the Ellen Jewett murder; New-Yorker, April 14, 1836, 110; Feb. 11, 1837, 333; March 13, 1841, 409.

[33] New-Yorker, March 28, 1840, 31; by 1841, a line under the flag characterized the content as "Literature, Politics and General Intelligence"; New-Yorker, March 13, 1841, 409.

On two occasions, the European news digests of the New-Yorker included a letter from a correspondent abroad commenting on the news, but most of its foreign correspondence had a different character and purpose. Hudson's history notes that the earliest form of foreign correspondence in the American press was letters from Americans travelling overseas, and it was that kind that appeared regularly in the New-Yorker. Between 1836 and 1841, the magazine published five different series of European letters, one of which had more than 20 installments.[35]

In contrast to the two correspondences mentioned above, the letter series were found not in the news section but in the first few pages of the magazine, the pages devoted to literature. That was an indication of their purpose, for what they provided was not news or commentary on current events but the writers' impressions of foreign cultures, their descriptions of buildings, monuments and the general travails of travelling.

It was a part of the magazine which Greeley considered important. Outlining the plans for the magazine in 1841, he thought its chief attractions would be a series of sketches by Boz (Charles Dickens) and "interesting letters from the shores of the Mediterranean, by an American lady of talent and character (known to some of our readers as 'Josephine') who sailed early in the year for Gibraltar, whence she will travel through Barbary, Egypt, and Syria to Constantinople, and probably through Greece to Italy." Her series of letters would be written exclusively for the New-Yorker, Greeley stressed.[36]

Many of the elements of the foreign news and foreign correspondence of the New-Yorker were transferred to the Tribune, as was the tendency to see the two as distinctly separate. There was, in fact, a very real link between the magazine and the newspaper when it came to foreign correspondence. For five months in 1841, Greeley published the New-Yorker and the Tribune simultaneously, and during that time, the foreign correspondences of the New-Yorker also ran in the Tribune, where they continued after the magazine ceased publication in September. Many of their successors would bear the stamp of the deceased magazine as well. Before discussing the correspondence of the Tribune, however, it is necessary to examine the

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[34] New-Yorker, Dec. 24, 1836, 221; Sept, 14, 1839, 409; the average time lag for European news in the magazine was 9.6 days in 1836, 11 days in 1840, and 13.4 days in 1841; corresponding figures for the Tribune in 1841 was 10.1 days, for the Herald in 1836 8 days; New-Yorker, April-Aug., 1836, 1840-41; Tribune, April-December 1841; Herald, 1836; in 1836, Mexican and South American news was published in two issues between April and August, Chinese news in one; in 1840, items from Mexico and South America appeared in eight issues, news from China in three.

[35] "Letters from Mexico" ran from April to December 1836, "Gleanings of Travel" from June 1836 to April 1837, "Notes on England and Scotland" from August to October 1839, "Letters from the Mediterranean" from April to June 1841, and "Letters from the Heart of Europe" from August to September 1841; the record in volume was held by a series republished from the Portland Advertiser, "Letters from Mr. Brooks," which had close to 100 pieces; for a good if brief discussion of the genre, see Wermuth, 30-31; Hudson, 451; cf. John Hohenberg, Foreign Correspondents: The Great Reporters and Their Times (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 23-24; New-Yorker, April 23, 1836, 74; May 7, 1836, 110; the letters, signed W.F. and B., respectively, were both from Paris.

[36] New Yorker, March 13, 1841, 409.

paper's overall foreign-news content.[37]

THE *NEW YORK TRIBUNE* AND NEWS FROM ABROAD

Although journalism histories routinely acknowledge the New York Tribune as an important newspaper, they contain little detailed discussion of the Tribune's role as a supplier of news. Both standard histories of journalism and biographies of Greeley tend to view his paper chiefly as a carrier of ideas and editorials.[38] When it comes to foreign news, whatever discussion there is tends to be confined to the post-Civil War years, when the paper took the lead in gathering news from Europe in general and from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 in particular. Accounts of how Greeley's paper dealt with news from abroad in its early years are rare, and the ones that exist focus on the same one or two instances when Greeley's paper unsuccessfully attempted to beat the New York Herald in getting European news first.[39]

Moreover, discussion of the news itself tends to be altogether overshadowed by Greeley's talent for choosing correspondents who, at least in retrospect, overshadow the stories they covered and dominate histories of the paper. From London, Karl Marx wrote letters on European affairs between 1851 and 1861. Charles A Dana, legendary editor of the New York Sun in the late 1800s, sent articles from a Europe in midst of revolution in 1848, and authors Margaret Fuller and Bayard Taylor were special European correspondents of the Tribune a couple of years earlier.[40]

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[37] This was the case both with "Letters from the Mediterranean" and "Letters from the Heart of Europe"; Greeley did acknowledge, however, that the weekly Tribune would be far more openly political--i.e. Whig--than the New Yorker, which had tried to provide "facts rather than arguments ... while disclaiming and detesting the imbecile epithet 'neutral'"; New-Yorker, Sept. 11, 1841, 409; Sept. 16, 1837.

[38] Emery and Emery, 104-05; Folkerts and Teeter, 182-85; Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960 (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 270; Sidney Kobre, Development of American Journalism (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1969) 247-50; James Parton, The Life of Horace Greeley, Editor of the New York Tribune (New York: Mason Brothers, 1855); L.U. Reavis, A Representative Life of Horace Greeley (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1872); "Horace Greeley," in Charles Wingate, ed., Views and Interviews on Journalism (New York: F.B. Patterson, 1875), 151-82; Francis N. Zabriskie, Horace Greeley, the Editor (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1890, reprint ed. New York: Beekman Publishers, 1974); William Alexander Linn, Horace Greeley: Founder and Editor of the New York Tribune (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903); Don C. Seitz, Horace Greeley: Founder of the New York Tribune (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1926, reprint ed. New York: AMS Press, 1970; Henry Luther Stoddard, Horace Greeley: Printer, Editor, Crusader (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1946); Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Horace Greeley: Nineteenth-Century Crusader (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953); even a recent collection of articles on Greeley takes the same approach, see "Horace Greeley Issue," Media History Digest, 11 (1, Spring-Summer 1991); that is true even of the article focusing on Greeley's international role, see John A. Lent, "The International Horace Greeley," 18-24; a work which does deal with the paper's treatment of news, foreign as well as domestic, is Harry W. Baehr, The New York Tribune Since the Civil War (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1936), but, as its title implies, Baehr's work is not concerned with the paper's early years.

[39] Zabriskie, 85-87, 101; Linn, 74-75; Seitz, 90-91, Hudson, 529-35.Reavis, 272-283; 101; Lent, 22-23.

[40] Charles Blitzer, "Introduction," in Henry M. Christman, ed., The American Journalism of Marx and Engels: A Selection from the New York Daily Tribune (New York: The New American Library, 1966), xvii-xxiv; James Harrison Wilson, The Life of Charles A. Dana (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907, 61-92; Joseph Jay Deiss, The Roman Years of Margaret Fuller (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), 20-21, 26-52; Paul C. Wermuth, Bayard Taylor (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973), 29-37; Greeley himself went to Europe in 1851, see Wingate, 155; Greeley, Recollections, 327; Greeley to Thomas L. Kane, Aug. 25, 1851, Greeley papers, New York Public Library.

A few accounts do provide a sense of the Tribune as a gatherer of foreign news. Charles Wingate's collection of interviews with prominent American journalists stresses Greeley's "deep interest in European affairs," and an indication of the pressures in the race between the New York papers for early and exclusive foreign news is an instance related by a couple of early Greeley biographers when the Tribune published news of a battle in Ireland in 1848, news that later turned out to be false. James Parton, one of Greeley's earliest biographers, provides a revealing glimpse of the paper being produced one night in the early 1850s. According to Parton, himself a Tribune employee, Greeley's paper had no less than 18 "regular and paid" correspondents abroad at the time, as well as an agent in Liverpool. Wandering about the Tribune office, the author finds "a heap of foreign letters" on the desk of Charles Dana (by then Greeley's managing editor), and his "visit" to the Tribune building concludes with the exciting word that the arrival of an English steamer is imminent, causing the management to send reporters to the docks in a futile attempt to obtain the latest European news before presstime.[41]

Greeley himself says little about foreign news in his autobiography, indicating only that "the politics of Europe, and the ever-shifting phases of Spanish-American anarchy" had their place among "the rise and fall of stocks, the markets for cotton, cattle, grain, and goods, the proceedings of Congress, Legislatures, and the Courts." From comments made in his personal correspondence it is also evident that he considered news, foreign as well as domestic, an important part of the paper.[42]

The best evidence of the importance of foreign news in the Tribune, however, is the paper's own pages. Frequently, the arrival of a steamer from England either stopped the presses or led to the publication of extra editions, both in the paper's first years and in the more established era described by Parton. News from Europe was published every eight days, on an average, while items from other parts of the world appeared less frequently in the Tribune's columns. As with the New-Yorker, news from Great Britain tended to dominate, which is not surprising given that the majority of the sources were British newspapers and that the steamers sailed from Liverpool. While T. H. Giddings claims that European news in the Tribune frequently occupied the entire front page in the 1840s, the average length of the news digests from in the 1841-44 period was only a little more than a column and a half, considerably less than the six columns of a full page.[43]

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[41] Parton, 283-84, 394-411.Wingate, 172; 283-84; Reavis, 84-85; Zabriskie, 100-01.

[42] Greeley to A. Veil, Nov. 23, 1848, Greeley papers; Greeley to William B. Kinney, June 22, 1851, Kinney family papers, New Jersey Historical Society; Greeley to Charles A. Dana, April 2, 1856, reprinted in Joel Benton, ed., Greeley on Lincoln. With Mr. Greeley's Letters to Charles A. Dana and a Lady Friend (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1893), 142.Greeley, Recollections, 142.

[43] The average length was 1.9 columns in 1841, 1.4 in 1842, 1.1 in 1843, and 1.75 in 1844; the average interval between publication of European news was 10.1 days in 1841, 7,6 days in 1842, 8.2 days in 1843, and 7.7 days in 1844;

Although Greeley thus seemed to consider foreign news important, the editorial voice of the Tribune shows little of the Herald's obsession of being first and presenting exclusive news. Greeley's paper was not, for instance, averse to joining with other papers to speed up the transmission of European news. In 1846 it, the Sun and the Journal of Commerce jointly chartered a boat to bring a particularly important piece of news, the treaty settling the Oregon Territory question, from Britain to New York.[44] Even before then, Greeley had taken steps to make use of resources outside the Tribune organization for news gathering. He relied on the express services of Harnden and Adams to bring European news to New York City from steamers docking in Boston, and he employed Charles Wilmer in Liverpool to gather British and continental papers there. By 1843, the Tribune was basing many of its news digests from Europe on Wilmer's American News Letter and on Wilmer and Smith's European Times. The latter contained summaries of European papers and was published in time for the departure of steamers for America, and it was frequently lauded in the Tribune as a publication of the highest utility and value to American editors.[45]

If the Tribune thus had made its coverage of foreign news routine and close to that of other American newspapers by the mid-1840s, its treatment of correspondence from abroad was decidedly different. It is examined next.

THE *TRIBUNE* AND THE ART OF CORRESPONDENCE

The first major difference between the Tribune and other newspapers was the placement of the foreign letters. While the Herald and its mercantile rivals indicated that there was a close relationship between news digests and correspondences by running them together and having the latter elaborate on information in the digest, Greeley's paper tended to separate the two. News digests and European letters were often published on different days, or, if they ran in the same issue, on different pages.

The separation seemed to serve the purpose of confirming the different character of letters and news, a difference that is not evident in the Herald, or, for that matter, in the pages of the Tribune which dealt with domestic news. There, articles by correspondents in various American locations were clearly reviews of recent events, focusing on politics and economics.[46]

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for China, the interval was 33 days in 1841, 23 days in 1842, 36 days in 1843, and 90 days in 1844; corresponding figures for South America were 46, 60, 20 and 60 days, respectively; Tribune, April-December 1841, January-June, 1842-44; it should be noted, however, that Chinese news frequently came by way of England; Tribune, May 7, 1841, 1; Aug. 12, 1841, 2; Oct. 5, 1842, 2; Dec. 5, 1843, 2; Giddings, 55.

[44] Seitz, 91; Reavis, 85-86; Zabriskie, 87; this is the often-related instance when the Herald nevertheless beat its three competitors.Some of Greeley's biographers suggest that he at times took the competition for news quite seriously, but the difference between the Herald and the Tribune is nonetheless noteworthy.

[45] Tribune, Feb. 21, 1843, 2; April 21, 1843, 1, 2; Sept. 6, 1843, 2; April 23, 1844, 1; June 20, 1842, 2; March 22, 1843, 2; Sept. 2, 1843, 1; Nov. 22, 1843, 2; Feb. 21, 1845, 2; June 20, 1842, 2; Oct. 20, 1842, 2; Feb. 21, 1845, 2; Hudson, 521; Schwarzlose, 48-53.

The influence of the New-Yorker seems evident; the Tribune had started its life by running the travel letters published in the magazine, and that kind of letter would constitute the bulk of the paper's foreign correspondence for the next few years. It was a form that the Herald and other papers had run in the 1830s but since largely abandoned. Greeley would continue to champion it, however; in addition to the two series of letters which the Tribune inherited from the New-Yorker, the paper ran another 13 between 1841 and 1845, mainly from Europe but also from Cuba and Canada.[47]

Many of the writers of these letters began with an account of crossing the Atlantic, frequently describing fellow passengers. Once off the ship, the correspondents tended to go into great detail about the hardships of coach and railroad travel, give enthusiastic descriptions of old buildings and monuments, and marvel at the customs and behavior of the inhabitants of European countries. Paul Wermuth notes in his biography of Bayard Taylor, one of Greeley's favorite foreign correspondents, that travel writing placed a great emphasis on description and on the writer's ability to "do up" accounts of familiar places in different ways, but such variation is not evident in the letters in the Tribune. They have a definite sameness to them, a quality made even more pronounced by the fact that writers at times seemed to follow in each other's footsteps.[48] Whether the writer was a journalist or not did not seem to influence the writing. The letters written by Albany editor Thurlow Weed, for instance, were no different in style and subject from those by written by "amateur" contributors.[49]

To Greeley, "original" letters were important enough to be mentioned in brief notices under the masthead, and from these editorial notices the impression emerges that entertainment and edification seemed to be the main reasons for the letters' presence in the

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[46] Virtually from the start of the Tribune, Greeley employed a Washington correspondent, and he soon had two different writers in the capital; other correspondents wrote from Baltimore, Buffalo, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Boston, and Albany; Tribune, April 22, 1841, 1; May 11, 2; July 28, 1; July 29, 1; Nov. 16, 1842, 1., Feb. 16, 1844, 2.

[47] Both "Letters from the Mediterranean" and "Letters from Europe" ended in September 1841, soon after the demise of the New-Yorker; "Letters from England" ran from October 1841 to February 1842, "Letters from Europe" from January to February 1843; "Life in Cuba" from February to May 1843, "Letters from Genoa" (later called "Letters from Europe" and "Letters from Italy") from April to December 1843, "Affairs in Great Britain" in August 1843; correspondence from Canada from August to September 1843, "Glimpses of Europe" from August to November 1843 and from March to July 1844, "Familiar Letters from London" from November 1844 to February 1845; "Letters from Mr. Brisbane" June to November 1844, "Evenings Abroad" from July to August 1844, Paris correspondence from October 1844 to September 1845, "Things in Ireland" from February to May 1845, "Letters from Havana" from April to June 1845, "The New Reformation in Germany" in May 1845, and "Wayside Notes Abroad," from August to September 1845.

[48] Wermuth, 30-31; in November 1843, for instance Thurlow Weed's letters from Europe (which Greeley reprinted from the Alabany Evening Journal) were dated Belgium, while W.M.G., the Tribune's own correspondent, was also describing that country in "Glimpses of Europe"; Tribune, Nov. 10-15, 1843.

[49] "Letters from Mr. Thurlow Weed Abroad" ran in the Tribune from July 25-Dec. 29, 1843; typical examples of "pure" travel of writing is "Gleanings of Travel" and "Notes on England and Scotland" in the New-Yorker, and "Letters from the Heart of Europe," "Letters from Europe" and (although not dealing with Europe) "Letters from Havana" in the Tribune.

Tribune, not news value. Announcing that his paper had several correspondents in Europe in the spring of 1843, Greeley expected their articles to be of "much interest and profit to our readers." One correspondent was to cross the Alps from Italy into Switzerland on foot, away from "the mass of travelers who follow the more frequented routes," and the editor was certain his readers would "share the pleasure with which we make this announcement." Later the same year, Greeley disclosed that "an intelligent friend now on a tour of observation in Europe" would write regularly "by every steamship," and he hoped readers would find the letters "instructive, agreeable and interesting"[50]

When J. Tyler Headley, a Tribune correspondent who had written a series of letters from Italy, gathered those letters in a book in 1845, the review in the paper gave a sense of how Greeley saw the purpose of foreign correspondence:

> Mr. Headley's letters are good daguerreotypes of Italy and her people. . . . We know no more vivid or faithful portraitures of the Common People of Italy, their character, modes of life, peculiarities, &c. Mr. H. is a keen observer, a good describer, and possesses a joyous, hoping, loving spirit. . . . For ruins, spectacles, natural scenery, few have a keener eye or a juster appreciation than our author."[51]

Summing up the qualities of a good foreign letter in an attempt at humor, a traveller writing from England in 1844 had a fictional friend tell him that Tribune readers expected descriptions of "storms at sea," "sights in London," "peculiarities of people" and "good or bad about aristocracies and church establishments." Greeley's private correspondence confirms that he saw description as one of the main purposes of foreign correspondence and that it should be "fresh" and full of "spirit and vigor."[52]

There were signs in the mid-1840s, however, that he also wanted letters from abroad to be something more. When Bayard Taylor approached the Tribune editor about writing letters from Europe in 1844, Greeley declared he was "sick of descriptive letters" and wanted "sketches of German life and society."[53] As early as 1841, another of his correspondents had poked fun at the traditional form and topic of European letters when he began his first letter by announcing that he was not going abroad

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[50] Tribune, Aug. 30, 1843, 2; April 25, 2.;Jan. 30, 2; Aug. 22, 2.

[51] Tribune, June 18, 1845, 1.

[52] Greeley to O.H. Bowe, Aug. 25, 1851; Greeley to Thomas L. Kane, Oct. 17, 1850; Greeley papers, New York Public Library; Tribune, July 25, 1844, 1.

[53] Quoted in Lent, 21-22; slightly differently in Van Deusen, 55; according to Wermuth (37), Taylor had problems fulfilling Greeley's wishes.

> to eke out an odd volume to be lettered 'Way-Side Sketches,' a 'Gentleman's Diary, embracing a week's residence in London!' or any thing of that sort. ... Do not expect a description of a single abbey, ruin or castle, nor of the Tower of London or Holyrood Palace. I shall not give you the height of St. Peter's or the circumference of St. Paul's, nor describe the glories of the Vatican or the Louvre. Are not all these things written in the pages of the guide-books and the chronicles of tourists? As for myself, I am not a tourist.[54]

Instead, the correspondent said he had left America to "see and know the fashion of other lands, to mark the distinction between New and Old, to understand, if it were possible, the policy of the various governments of Europe, and try to gather instruction from the living pages before me." Applied to his letters, that statement of purpose produced articles on the national mood, the English class society and the plight of the poor.[55]

Like the unknown writer above, other early correspondences in the Tribune had already gone beyond the typical travel letter. Josephine's "Letters from the Mediterranean" had done their share of description, but they also made an attempt to make readers understand the customs and thoughts of Moroccan women.[56] Her approach had been the exception in 1841, but writers who eschewed the traditional travel-letter form were common in the Tribune's columns two years later. The signature W.M.G., arriving in England in August 1843, began his series by timidly acknowledging that the field of travel writing had already been "well gleaned" by others before him and promised "my impressions of the Old World, not mere high-sounding words, but pictures of the inward and outward peculiarities of the people and the places among whom my wandering observation may bring me." If that read like the introduction of a traditional travel writer, the first letter from the hand of W.M.G. had a decidedly different tone, predicting a British revolution that would repeat all the horrors of its French predecessor and professing great dismay at the condition of Britain's poor.[57] Most of W.M.G.'s subsequent letters, which grew to more than 30 as he made his way from Britain via Belgium, France and Switzerland to Italy, adhered more closely to the topics and style of traditional travel writing, but his first article had signalled a definite change.

That change would be even more evident in the letters sent by the next Tribune correspondent to visit Britain, "W.W." Where his predecessor had been alarmed but sympathetic, W.W. was critical and disdainful. He had promised to "hold the mirror to passing events," and it was a mirror that showed Britain as a tyrannical and unfair society, where the mass of people were kept in ignorance and misery by a "heartless" aristocracy. As W.W. moved on to Dublin to cover a trial of Irish nationalists, his letters became more positive in tone because he liked the Irish, but they still were highly critical of England.[58] So harsh was their tone that Greeley felt obligated to comment editorially:

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[54] Tribune, Oct. 29, 1841, 1.

[55] Tribune, Nov. 11, 1841, 1; Nov. 24, 4; Jan. 26, 1842, 4.

[56] See, for instance, Tribune, July 23, 1841, 4; Aug. 6, 1841.

[57] Tribune, Aug. 30, 1834, 1; Aug. 22, 1843, 1; Greeley chose to publish the two letters a week apart, while their dates were only one day apart.

> Our European Correspondent 'W.W.' travels under express instructions from us to make himself acquainted with the People of Great Britain, their modes of life and of thought, their feelings, hardships, hopes and antipathies. In obeying this instruction, he identifies himself with them, and blends his sympathies with theirs--Some things he says are not in the best taste; in some cases perhaps the powerful and wealthy are blamed for evils which they neither created nor know how to remedy. The evils exist, however, and the degradation and misery of the toiling masses cannot be exaggerated. We think our Correspondent's Letters, notwithstanding their defects, will do good on both sides of the water.[59]

Although less harsh in tone, others letters discussing social or political problems would appear from then on in the Tribune's columns. Later in 1844, social reformer Albert Brisbane wrote from Britain and France about the effects of industrialization, the British system of land holdings, and the structure of European governments. In May 1845, a series of letters from Germany described religious movements there.[60] It appeared to be this kind of letter Greeley expected when he made arrangements to have Margaret Fuller and Charles Dana write from Europe a few years later and when he and Dana engaged Karl Marx in the early 1850s.

Another kind of correspondence was, however, also entering the columns of the Tribune in 1843, and it was more akin to that found in the Herald. That year, "W." wrote three articles about current events in London, and an indication of his purpose was a reference in one of the letters of W.M.G. to the Tribune's "regular" British correspondent.[61] Impersonal in tone and drawing heavily on British newspapers, these letters had as their main purpose to supplement and sometimes replace the news digests. In 1844, "P.A.R." began writing similar articles from Paris, followed by "J.S.D." in Dublin in 1845. J.S.D. summed up the different purpose and character of his kind of correspondence when he introduced himself to Tribune readers as one who would "give, not his own individual opinions upon affairs of State, and on matters connected with the political history of the day, but a faithful Daguerreotype of the conduct and writings of men."[62] The correspondent as newsgatherer had begun his rise to prominence in the pages of the New York Tribune, challenging the intensely personal account of the travel writer.

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[58] Tribune, Feb. 12, 1844, 2; March 26, 1; May 21, 1; Nov. 22, 1843, 2; Jan. 5, 1844, 1; Jan. 29, 1.

[59] Tribune, Jan. 29, 1844, 2.]

[60] Tribune, May 6-10, 1845, 1; Aug. 22, 1844, 1; Nov. 11, 1; Nov. 12, 1; Brisbane would return as a letter writer later, see Brisbane to Greeley, Nov. 1, 1851, Greeley papers, New York Public Library.

[61] Tribune, Oct. 5, 1843, 1; Oct. 21, 1; Nov. 22, 1; two more, unsigned, were published Nov. 25 and Nov. 28; for W.M.G., see Aug. 22, 1843, 1.

CONCLUSION: 'CULTURAL JOURNALISM' AND THE *TRIBUNE*

Greeley would continue to champion the travel letter as a form of foreign correspondence in the years after 1845, and he seemed uncomfortable with the growing tendency to define foreign news narrowly as political events, as the introductory passage of this paper indicates. By the mid-1860s, however, the newspaper he had founded was increasingly defining it that way, and it was, moreover, taking the lead in the organization of regular correspondence from Europe.[63] Although managing editors Whitelaw Reid and John Russell Young sought to accommodate Greeley's wishes to some extent, they were consciously pushing the Tribune correspondence in the direction of brief, journalistic reports stressing recent and, if possible, exclusive news.[64]

Reid could be impatient with writers who did not understand that change, sarcastically charging that one writer engaged by Greeley did nothing but "reprint directions of guidebooks." Similarly, he thought that Paris correspondent Clarence Cook wrote well enough but "doesn't display any journalistic tact, doesn't seize upon things we want, and doesn't produce an impression." To George Smalley, the main problem with Cook was that he could not understand that "time is everything in journalism"; to Smalley's exasperation, Cook had not transmitted breaking news from a French trial because he did not want to break up "the dramatic interest" of his account. The style, topics and lengths entailed in travel writing were thus being discarded, a tendency speeded up by the introduction of the transatlantic cable, which tied short and condensed reports to economics and put the flowery and rhetorical style of traditional foreign letters at a distinct disadvantage. The impact of the cable is evident, for instance, in Young's decision to dismiss a Paris correspondent who was "a good man" but whose articles belonged "to the pre-telegraph era."[65]

The daily press' abandonment of the travel letter did not mean that it vanished altogether, of course. It is evident, for instance, that today's successor of the correspondence abounding in the Tribune in the 1840s can be found in a special-interest publication like National Geographic. Moreover, there are calls for bringing some aspects of it back to the foreign coverage of more news-oriented media. In the criticism of the spot-news nature of much of American media coverage of events abroad, suggestions have been made to redefine what is newsworthy. Calling for "cultural journalism," Kathryn Olmstead proposes the media focus less on politics and more on "the beliefs, values and traditions that shape events," a suggestion echoed by a Christian Science Monitor correspondent who favors "slices of life" over "stories."[66] In this light, the instructions of Horace Greeley to his correspondent W.W. in 1844 to acquaint himself with the "feelings, hardships, hopes and antipathies" of the British people look quite modern, and the philosophy behind the foreign correspondence of the New York Tribune appears to have a great deal of relevance to today's journalism.

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[62] Tribune, Feb. 25, 1841, 1; for P.A.R., see Oct. 29, 1844, 1; Nov. 26, 1; Dec. 12, 1; Dec. 16, 1; March 21, 1845, 1; April 24, 2; July 13, 1; July 31, 1; Aug. 12, 1; Sept. 6, 1; for J.S.D., Feb. 21, 1845, 2; Feb. 25, 1; March 1, 1; March 21, 1; May 8, 1.

[63] Desmond, Information Process, 230-31; on the details of the organization, see Smalley to O'Donnell, undated memo, 1869, Reid papers.

[64] Reid to Sam Sinclair, Sept. 24, 1869; Reid to Smalley, March 17, 1870; Reid papers; John Russell Young to Smalley, March 2, 1869; Young papers, Library of Congress; on accommodating Greeley, see Reid to E.W. Peabody, Nov. 10, 1869; Reid to Smalley, July 21, 1869.

[65] Young to Smalley, April 28, 1869; Smalley to Reid, March 23 1870; Reid to Smalley, Aug. 29, 1869; Feb. 21, 1870.

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[66] Olmstead, "Breaking the Cocoon: Cultural journalism in a Global Community," Journal of Popular Culture 25 (2, Fall 1991):153-65; Bill Kirtz, "Covering foreign news is different now," Editor & Publisher, March 31, 1990, 38, 65.

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The Founding of Investigative Reporters and Editors Inc., and the Fledgling Organization's Conduct of the Arizona Project: A Time of Trial and Triumph

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The Founding of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc., and the Fledgling Organization's Conduct of the Arizona Project: A Time of Trial and Triumph

(Abstract)

This paper focuses on the founding of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. (IRE) , in the journalistic context of the 1970s. It examines specifically the Arizona Project conducted under the auspices of IRE in 1976. The Arizona Project was IRE's response to the death of an IRE member and investigative reporter, Don Bolles, but it became a catalyst for the fledgling organization. The project resulted in national prominence for IRE, national awards and a pool of prospective young leaders. Most importantly, it provided IRE with the leverage to accomplish its original goal of providing a network of contacts as well as educational and professional programs to journalists.

The inception of Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. (IRE), in 1975 was a natural development in the journalistic context of the times. Established as a service organization to provide educational programs and a network of contacts to journalists, IRE was a logical and natural development; natural, despite the fact that compared to other professionals, journalists are more likely not to belong to any professional organization.[1] But almost from the start, the infant organization was plagued with a host of troubles, some of which ambiguously seemed to be blessings and curses.

Chief among these troubles and inextricably intertwined with them was the murder of IRE member, Phoenix-based Arizona Republic reporter, Don Bolles. Bolles's death in June 1976 provided the stimulus for the Arizona Project, which, in turn, became a catalyst for the newly formed organization and simultaneously almost proved to be its undoing. IRE's activities from 1976 until 1981 were shaped largely by its response to Bolles's death -- the Arizona Project.

This paper will focus on the origin of IRE in the journalistic context of the 1970s and will treat the Arizona Project as IRE's response to Bolles's death. Through a discussion of the project's trials and triumphs, an attempt will be made to understand how the project acted as a catalyst for the fledgling organization. As the key event in the opening chapter of IRE's history, the Arizona Project presented the organization with both adversity and opportunity in its early years -- years that tested the organization's survival before it "stood on the threshold of a new era."[2] The Arizona Project was a drain on the fledgling IRE's resources, but it garnered national publicity for the organization; provided it with credibility and with a corps of prospective leaders; and strengthened it through various trials.

Journalism in the 1970s:

Journalism -- and especially the genre known as investigative journalism -- enjoyed enormous popularity in the early 1970s after the Washington Post's Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein's Watergate sleuthing helped topple the Nixon administration. For it was not until their journalistic coup that "the American press was really ready to enter a new era of unbounded muckraking."[3] The press started to enjoy public esteem unprecedented throughout most of the twentieth century: enrollments soared in journalism schools; newspapers were flooded with applications for every editorial vacancy;[4] and there was a resurgence of interest in investigative journalism/muckraking among journalists, authors and scholars.[5]

J. Herbert Altschull has written:

> Investigative reporting experienced its great surge in the 1970s and 1980s, after the decline of the heady revolutionary period of the 1960s. The 'Weltgeist' -- the Spirit of the Times -- of the later decades was markedly different from that of the romantic 1960s. . . . The optimism that had marked the 1960s disintegrated, and a mood of pessimism, close in spirit to the strain of cultural pessimism that had long marked European society, settled over the country. The investigative journalists were among the chief disseminators of cultural pessimism.[6]

Professors James Ettema of Northwestern University and Theodore L. Glasser of Stanford describe investigative journalism as "the journalism of outrage" and trace its origins to the Progressive era and the muckrakers.[7] However, distinction has been made by Harrison and Stein, Sellers and other scholars, between investigative journalism and muckraking.[8] The early 1970s undoubtedly represented a period of investigations that contained the reform goal essential to muckraking: *Time* magazine dubbed 1974 the "Year of the Muckrakers" after four of that year's six Pulitzer Prizes for newspaper writing went to investigative journalists.[9] A record number of 903 entries competed that year for the Pulitzers, a "sharp rise over 681 in '73 [sic]," announced John Hohenberg, a Columbia University professor of journalism and Pulitzer administrator.[10]

The Pulitzer Prize for investigative local reporting in 1975 went to an investigative team from the *Indianapolis Star* for its coverage of corruption in the Indianapolis police department and the county prosecutor's office.[11] The team had won the George Polk Memorial Award from Long Island University also that year;[12] the Drew Pearson Award for investigative reporting the previous year;[13] a Sigma Delta Chi Award and other prizes.[14]

But the *Star's* eighteen-month team members did more than win awards: They also helped conceive plans for "some kind of national organization for journalists" because they had become aware of the need for a nationwide network while undertaking their investigations, and because "Reporters from other newspapers have indicated they feel the same way."[15] It was thought that such an organization could benefit journalists by providing them with educational workshops and seminars, a newsletter, a database of stories, expert advice, an annual convention, and the like.[16] "We don't want to duplicate what other organizations are doing, but talking with other reporters has indicated there is a void which this organization can fill," wrote Harley Bierce, a founding member of IRE. The organization would enable journalists to become more efficent and more successful by helping them to follow leads outside their circulation areas.[17]

Edward O. DeLaney, an Indianapolis attorney and member of IRE's founding executive committee, says that the Star team's investigation into police brutality in Indianapolis not only won or helped win the Pulitzer but also gave coast-to-coast recognition to the team (primarily because some members were arrested for obstructing justice).[18] The high-profile team was well set to establish an organization that would help reporters throughout the country. And the timing of the organization's debut -- when investigative journalism was at its height of popularity -- was just right.

IRE's Early Days:

A letter dated 13 February 1975 from Myrta Pulliam (daughter of Eugene Pulliam of the Star and Indianapolis News, and granddaughter of Nina Pulliam of the Arizona Republic and the Phoenix Gazette), and Harley R. Bierce, Star award-winning team members, to Stu McDonald of the American Newspaper Publishers Association's (ANPA) Foundation, Reston, Virginia, about the first meeting, suggested that the prospective organization should hold annual meetings for reporters, editors and publishers involved in investigative journalism and that these meetings should deal "with the nuts-and-bolts concerns with a minimum of philosophical discussions."[19] Acknowledging that "good investigative reporting contains the same essential elements found in all other types of good reporting," the document classified investigative reporting as "more comprehensive" and involving "more digging for facts than routine reporting."[20] The writers expressed their concern about investigative reporting becoming "a fad," and speculated that more investigative reporting would be conducted "as reporters seeking attention or notoriety are attracted."[21]

A meeting in Reston on the weekend of 22-23 February 1975, which was sponsored by the ANPA Foundation and partly financed by a Lilly Endowment Inc. grant, resulted in the establishment of "an informal organization to be called Investigative Reporters and Editors."[22] A seven-member executive committee was appointed and a newly formed steering group decided to work toward a national meeting in winter 1975-1976.[23] Journalist Les Whitten, who attended the inaugural meeting, provided ideas for the organization's name and acronym by asserting that "a sense of outrage" is what most characterizes investigative reporters.[24] IRE was incorporated as a non-profit organization and ended its first year in the black.[25] The bulk of the organization's funding during the year had been donated by the Indianapolis-based Lilly Endowment, Inc., and Indianapolis Newspapers Inc., sources which were to prove controversial later.[26]

Rumblings of Unease:

IRE was off to a good start -- or so it seemed. But before another year had passed, the organization was thrust into a web of intrigue that stemmed from the murder of one of its members, Don Bolles, in Phoenix, Arizona. Just weeks before Bolles's death, the first resignation of an IRE executive committee member took place, and what seems to be the first aspersion cast on the organization, at least in print, was published -- two events seemingly innocuous, but which, in many ways presaged much of what soon would follow. In May, Robert Friedly, a founder member and director of communications for the Christian Church, bowed out "in the interest of IRE's being exclusively a reporter-editor organization and with the understanding that the church's role essentially was that of a repository for funds during the pre-incorporation period."[27]

Also that month, The Village Voice's writer, Alexander Cockburn, cautioned prospective members to check out "the racy new association assembled to promote the good cause of investigative journalism." Cockburn reminded readers that Steve Castner, a member of the IRE board of directors, had been fired from The Milwaukee Journal for violating the newspaper's code of ethics. "Is he therefore quite the man to ponder ethical standards?" he asked.[28]

From the day of Bolles's death, Wednesday 13 June 1976, to the 1981 resolution of a series of lawsuits from "The Arizona Project," IRE was usually controversial and seldom out of the media's spotlight. Internal dissension; external criticism; scorn by the elite media; and the Arizona Project's series of 23 stories about the Machiavellian maneuverings of Arizona-connected Mafia, politicians, professionals, and business people, were among the hallmarks of the organization's early years.[29] The Arizona Project appeared to be a source of adversity, yet it was through that adversity that IRE developed some of its strengths.[30]

Don Bolles's Death:

Don Bolles, a forty-seven-year-old IRE member and investigative reporter for The Arizona Republic with an insatiable appetite for exposing wrongdoing, was critically injured when a bomb exploded under his white Datsun outside the Clarendon House Hotel in Phoenix on Wednesday 2 June 1976.[31] It was the day of his eighth wedding anniversary, and in the evening he and his wife, Rosalie, were to go to the movie, "All the President's Men."[32] But that was not to be.

Bolles, at his request, had been assigned to the legislative bureau in September 1975[33] after being disillusioned by the lack of response to the corruption he uncovered.[34] He left the State Capitol pressroom that morning to go to the hotel where he was to meet an informant claiming to have evidence "linking questionable land sale practices" to Republican Party members, among them Senator Barry Goldwater and Representative Sam Steiger.[35]

The informant -- John Harvey Adamson -- failed to show up. But Bolles, yet again, had shown himself to be someone "unable to quit sniffing the trail"[36]; someone considered by his colleagues to have "a journalist's best quality -- insatiable curiosity."[37]

Within minutes of Bolles's leaving the hotel for the parking lot where he re-entered his car, a bomb affixed to the car was detonated and left Bolles clinging to life, his legs and torso mangled, his body racked with metal.[38] Bolles reportedly told paramedics he had been working on a Mafia story. Reports differ as to his last words before he lost consciousness, but it is understood that he mentioned "Mafia," "Emprise," and "John Adamson — Find him."[39] After putting up a valiant fight for life, and surviving a number of operations, Bolles died on 13 June 1976, just eleven days after the bombing.[40]

Intrigue in the Sunbelt State:

In March 1976, just months before the bombing assassination, Bolles's exposes on seventy-year-old Kemper Marley, Sr., a rancher and businessman who had been appointed a member of the State Racing Commission by Arizona Governor Raul Castro, forced Marley to resign.[41] Marley had been the single largest contributor to Governor Castro's election campaign in 1974.[42]

But Marley, a "boots-and-Stetson multimillioaire in the Western tradition," accustomed to mixing business and politics, was alleged to attempt to have his revenge.[43] This cattle and liquor baron, who looked "as if he just stepped out of the pages of Zane Grey," was said to have ordered Bolles's death.[44] It was John Harvey Adamson, the informant named by Bolles, who implicated Marley in the bombing. Arrested and charged with the assassination, Adamson admitted planting the bomb but said he was only one of the people involved in a murder-for-hire plot instigated by Marley.[45]

Adamson made a plea bargain for a reduction of first-degree murder charges to those of second-degree and a prison sentence of twenty years and two months in return for testimony against others. He alleged that Marley had put up $50,000 plus expenses to have Bolles and two other people killed -- Arizona Attorney General Bruce Babbitt, and Al Lizanetz, a former Marley employee.[46] The offer, he said, had been made through Max Dunlap, a forty-seven-year-old wealthy Phoenix land developer and building contractor who had been reared by Marley. Adamson had received an initial $1,000 down payment and an advance of $20,000 in April 1976. He had plotted Bolles's murder with James Robison [sic], a fifty-four-year-old plumber who had hit hard times and who allegedly detonated the car bomb by remote control.[47]

A fund of $25,000 for Adamson's legal defense was arranged by Dunlap with Phoenix laywer, Neal Roberts, shortly after the June 2 bombing even though Adamson had not been arrested at that time.[48] Dunlap and Robison were convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to death.[49] On appeal, however, their convictions were overturned by the Arizona Supreme Court because Adamson refused to give the same testimony again unless his sentence was further reduced. The state refused, and he was tried for, and convicted of first-degree murder.[50] No charges were ever brought against Marley.[51] Adamson was the only person to be convicted and imprisoned.

While there has been no conclusive evidence regarding those who hired Adamson, there have been doubts about Mafia involvement in Bolles's death.[52] His death has been regarded mostly as part of a conspiracy involving people with important political connections.[53]

The Arizona Project:

Ironically, Bolles, who had failed to get substantial recognition for his journalistic investigations during his lifetime, found it in death. He was honored posthumously; IRE established an award in his name; and national media stories about his death and the trials related to it were a daily occurrence for months. There was also a marked increase in the prosecution of crime in Arizona. And his assassination sparked off a unique journalistic venture sponsored by IRE.

But the investigation that became known as the Arizona Project (and sometimes is called the Phoenix Project) would do much more than investigate Bolles's killing. It would become the venture that gave IRE its greatest early triumphs -- and its greatest financial and legal trials. The decision to probe the possibility of investigating Bolles's death was made at the first IRE convention, held in Indianapolis, just days after his murder. Those attending the conference supported a resolution to send a preliminary investigating team under the leadership of Newsday's Bob Greene to Arizona.[54]

Project Provoked Controversy:

The initial probe resulted in the full-scale Arizona Project. Controversy raged around the project that started on 2 October 1976 in suite 1939 of the Adams Hotel in Phoenix. Regarded as "an unusual experiment in group journalism,"[55] the significance of the project in the annals of American journalism history was captured by the New York Times in a sentence that also noted its controversy:

> Nothing like this multinewspaper investigation of crime in one state has been attempted in American journalism, and it has raised questions within the newspaper profession over whether it is good or bad. Some newsmen have criticized it as seeming to be pretentious.[56]

Epithets galore hailed the investigation: It was "the most remarkable journalistic effort since Woodward and Bernstein,"[57] an unparalleled "combined investigative effort,"[58] and "an extraordinary journalistic enterprise."[59]

The IRE-sponsored initiative drew particular fire from some "elite"[60] newspapers, i.e., the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times, as well as from Phoenix-based journalists apprehensive about being "shown up by outsiders."[61] A.M. Rosenthal, managing editor of the New York Times, rejected an invitation to participate in the project, saying:

> One of the great strengths of the American press is diversity and competitiveness. We shouldn't be getting together, if a story is worth investigating, we should do it ourselves. If you do it on this story, why not on other stories? Why doesn't everybody get together and investigate everything: you'd soon have one big press and no diversity.[62]

Ben F. Bradlee, managing editor of the Washington Post, said he did not think it was appropriate to join in. He later said any journalist he might have sent would have been "ineffectual" because he "wouldn't know the local turf."[63] The newspaper's ombudsman, Charles B. Seib, also took a shot at the project, dismissing it along with investigative journalism in general as "the latest journalistic fad,"[64] thereby assigning to IRE an attribute it wished to avoid. Journalistic protectionism was also thought to play a part in the criticism. Otis Chandler of the Los Angeles Times told an Arizona newspaper group he would not have been too pleased "if outsiders came into California."[65]

The leader of this unique journalistic "S.W.A.T. force,"[66] Bob Greene, was convinced the team approach was best. He had originated the concept of team investigations at Newsday in 1967 and had won two Pulitzer Prizes (in 1970 and 1974), a Sigma Delta Chi Award, and the National Headliners Club Award.[67] The Arizona Project, Greene insisted, would not try to investigate Bolles's murder, but would attempt to continue his work to demonstrate that "when you try to kill a reporter, you'll have not only that paper to tangle with but also a geometrically increasing number of reporters."[68]

During the last three months of 1976, about fifty reporters from some three dozen newspapers and broadcast stations, as well as university students and other volunteers, worked day and night on the series of 23 stories examining organized crime in Arizona. Only six were full time; the others were "ins-and-outers."[69]

The 300-pound, Pall Mall-smoking Greene was the full-time commanding general. He strategized like a Napoleon with a computer-like memory and journalistic abilities that enabled him to keep "track of the investigation's tangled threads."[70] Forty thousand memorandums were accumulated, indexed and filed during the project. The stories were written in January-February 1977 and released in March after IRE attorney, Edward O. DeLaney, and an attorney from one newspaper, the Kansas City Star, had combed the 100,000-word series for libel.

The Arizona Project, however, had caused problems for IRE.

Financially, the project had been a burden to the fledgling organization and had caused internal dissension. In February 1977, Jim Drinkhall, an early member of IRE and reporter for the Wall Street Journal, had disparaged IRE in print for not providing an account of its finances. He also had lambasted the organization for denying it knew its contributors and suggested that its sources of funding included two felons.[71] An IRE response in April disavowed many of Drinkhall's claims.[72] Bob Greene claims that Drinkhall's negative story about IRE probably emanated from a director who had resigned and from other sources "who didn't know what was going on" but who were using the reporter for their own ends.[73]

Much of the internal bickering at the time, Greene says, was in Indianapolis where Harley Bierce and other IRE board members were trying to raise funds. Money was at a trickle. Indianapolis headquarters insisted on taking a percentage of funds for office expenses, so Greene set out on his own to bring in some money. He says:

> I contacted a couple of philanthropists I got to know -- the Rockefeller Foundation and the Stern Foundation. Most of the money that came in was coming in through me. . . . Drinkhall was incredibly wrong: What he wrote was an incredibly dead piece of journalism.

As head of the Arizona Project, Greene says he was anxious to protect its integrity and see it through. Every cent of the Arizona Project was carefully audited -- the project's secretary was the wife of the Phoenix Internal Revenue Services director! Had the project failed, everything else would have failed behind it. He says:

> This was something we'd never done before. It was a one-shot thing. We were an educational organization. We'd attracted

> such attention to this, it could have been enormously harmful to the organization if it had failed. We had raised money for this. Failure would have lessened our credibility.

The Arizona Project provided IRE with national recognition, Greene says. Until the Arizona Project, IRE was perceived as an Indianapolis-oriented organization that had "a Star panache to it." The Star and Pulliam family had been supportive, Greene says. "Myrta Pulliam had been the impetus to get the organization born," but the first convention in Indianapolis had "only 150, maybe 200 some odd people there. . . . In terms of being in the national consciousness of the press, it [IRE] wasn't."

Problems Galore:

As of July 1977, IRE had paid its bills but had few reserves. The apparent no-deficit situation was not quite an accurate reflection of the organization's fiscal fortunes. Libel suits that resulted from the Arizona Project and which kept the organization in a precarious situation until 1981 were considered to threaten its survival.[74]

However, Greene's opinion and that of some of his colleagues is that IRE, like other fledgling organizations, was a shoestring operation from the start and was not enriched enormously by the libel suits' settlements or by the decision of Mutual's (the IRE insurance carrier) General Tim Hanson in 1980 to combine all six suits as "one incident," thereby charging IRE only one deductible.[75]

But financial woes somewhat aside, another problem manifested itself when a Detroit News reporter, Michael F. Wendland, had a book published about the Arizona Project. Team leader Greene maintained there was an agreement that no one would benefit personally from involvement in the project. Wendland claimed he was not party to any such agreement: the contradiction continues.[76] Proceeds likely to be realized from a book (by the former Washington Post national editor, media critic Ben Bagdikian) and a movie (by David Susskind) were to be directed to the organization's coffers. An advance of $10,000 was made by publishers Prentice-Hall, and, in accordance with the IRE-Bagdikian agreement, $2,000 had been paid over to IRE. Prentice-Hall's decision to publish was rescinded, however, after Wendland's book was published and got favorable reviews.[77]

In an incident related to the book, Ron Kozial, the Chicago Tribune reporter who was an IRE founding member and president, left the organization in ambiguous circumstances. Kozial claimed he resigned from IRE because of his disenchantment with the way the organization was going: IRE claimed to have expelled him for a conflict of interest that he had refused to discuss at a board meeting -- his alleged co-signing of The Arizona Project manuscript with author Wendland.[78]

When the Arizona Project was released in March 1977, some newspapers did not run the series. Among those that stalled was Bolles's own newspaper, the Arizona Republic, which had supported the project from the start. The Republic claimed the stories had appeared in the newspaper previously; that they were dated (Greene and project participants said later that backgrounding the stories for the first-time reader may have given them an old-news quality, in part); and that its reluctance stemmed from its lack of direct editorial control. The Republic's decision -- and its attendant publicity -- came as a major blow to IRE. Greene pointed to the newspaper's sponsorship of supplies and to its participant reporters as evidence of its support for the project. Others pointed to the newspaper's close ties with the Arizona Establishment as the reason for its reluctance to expose local wrongdoers. After public protests about the decision and the import of copies of Tucson and even Colorado newspapers carrying the Arizona Project installments, the Republic succumbed and published the remaining stories.[79]

Another Arizona Project detractor emerged in an unlikely form: Within days of the stories' release, even Rosalie Bolles added her voice to the chorus of IRE's critics. She was tired, she said, of her late husband's name being used "by a lot of people to further their own endeavors or to give credibility to their work." She said the Arizona Project stories should stand on their own merit, and not be freed from the test of responsible journalism by being cloaked in her husband's name.[80] Greene says Rosalie Bolles was mad at the Arizona Project people when she made this statement. Why? Because Greene had rebuffed her approaches to him to withhold information about a Phoenix lawyer's involvement in a locally based prostitution racket. The lawyer, Mark L. Harrison, a former president of the Maricopa County (Phoenix) Bar Association, was in charge of a fund for the Bolles family and handled Rosalie's legal affairs. The final story in the twenty-three-part series focuses on Harrison and the call-girl ring.

With the Arizona Project, IRE had thrust itself into sensitive areas, not least of which was the organization's attitude toward access to files. The question of access was raised during the Project and throughout the book brouhaha when claims of censorship were leveled against the organization. Greene was singled out for criticism as he had allowed FBI and other law enforcement officials peruse the organization's files in Arizona, an activity which he defended.[81]

The series promoted change in Arizona's prosecution of crime; led to indictments of drugs racketeers; prompted the State legislature to form a permanent committee on organized crime; and increased the size of the intelligence squad of the Phoenix police as well as the annual budget of the State Department of Public Safety. Within months of the stories' release, the project won a Sigma Delta Chi Award and the American Society of Journalists and Authors "Conscience in the Media Award" for "the finest moment in American journalism." For project leader, Bob Greene, the greatest praise for the project came from Arizona Attorney General Bruce Babbitt who said the series had "dragged Arizona, kicking and screaming, into the twentieth century."[82]

By July 1977, however, IRE's prospects were improving. The organization had reached a turning point. The second annual convention had a journalistic star-studded program that attracted more than double the attendance of the previous year's conference and generated an enthusiasm which surprised even IRE's most optimistic officials. Editor & Publisher reported:

> There is no question that the IRE's future was jeopardy going into this year's second annual convention held in Columbus, Ohio, two weeks ago. Internal bickering and petty jealousies, made public for the first time in a Wall Street Journal article on the IRE a few months ago, had made journalists

> hesitant to join and foundations uneasy about contributing to the support of the group. . . . If the convention had been a flop, the IRE's short lived [sic] existence probably would have been over.[83]

Membership was given a boost; the regional membership program was launched; and Bob Greene was hoping for a "grassroots, functioning organization throughout the United States, Canada, and Mexico."[84] IRE had gained national attention by the success of the Arizona Project; Greene was president, and another Pulitzer winner, NBC's James Polk, was vice president. "There had been some personality conflicts," Polk says. "But maybe it was healthy to work them out. I made certain in Columbus that the prevailing philosophy of the organization was one big tent, and that everybody was under the same tent."[85] Directors had left, among them Len Downie of the Washington Post, and Jack Taylor of the Daily Oklahoman who had disagreed with the organization's involvement in a Project-based book. "But the vote on the book was 6-4," Polk says. "I was the other person who voted against it." There was room for dissension within the organization's fold.

In 1978, discussions were held between IRE and two universities -- Boston University and the University of Missouri -- for space in which to locate a resource center. By mid-year, IRE had decided to locate what would become the Paul Williams Memorial Resource Center in the University of Missouri's School of Journalism whose faculty and graduate students were said to be "deeply interested in the welfare of IRE" and ideally suited to helping out.[86] Also that year, IRE's first executive director -- John Ullmann -- was appointed.

IRE's Survival Seems Assured:

After IRE's surviving its turbulent first two years, its future -- despite its ongoing financial concerns -- seemed assured. The 1978 convention in Columbus was a watershed in renewing confidence in the organization, increasing membership, generating enthusiasm, and launching new projects, among them the regional conferences/workshops and the resource center. The Arizona Project's legacy of libel suits was not resolved until 1981 when they were either dismissed or settled in favor of IRE;[87] by which time the organization's annual award contest was established;[88] and its straitened finances were improved thanks to a decision made by its insurance carrier. The decision meant that IRE had been "lifted from the ranks of the poverty-stricken to . . . well, if not the height of affluence, at least lower middle class [sic]."[89] The organization, in a state of penury ever since the project, finally was poised to develop as a service and educational organization for journalists. Its "Agenda For The Eighties" suggested making a priority of existing programs -- the resource center, the journal, regional organizations, conferences, awards programs and fund-raising -- while looking to future expansion of services and membership.[90]

IRE's membership has swelled to 3,000, and the organization, as its charter intended, is an educational organization for journalists.[91] The organization ran the gantlet during its first five years -- and survived. Undeniably, the death of Don Bolles was the stimulus for the Arizona Project, and the project, in turn, became a catalyst for IRE. Jerry Uhrhammer says:

> For every action, there's a reaction. I don't think anybody would have done any differently. There was a very strong commitment to IRE and to the Project and it remained there. If we would not have had the Project, we would not have had the problems. On the other hand, we may have had other problems. At some risk to itself, this fledgling organization took on a mammoth project and made it work. . . The Arizona Project gave IRE the visibility to run conferences and workshops and it changed the calibre of journalism by educating reporters in the use of paper trails: by giving them new tools to work with.[92]

Bob Greene considers the Arizona Project to have been a springboard for IRE and for improved investigative journalism. The project -- and IRE -- had gone through turbulent times, but the project offered IRE a host of benefits, among them: national publicity; national awards; instant recognition; improved investigative practices among journalists; the leverage to provide educational and professional development programs to journalists; a resource center at the University of Missouri, and the accompanying "respectability" of such an affiliation; public perception of IRE/Arizona Project members as top-class professionals whose stories withstood the test of six libel suits; an expanded and strengthened organization; and a pool of prospective young leaders, many of whom had been "the desert rats" of the Arizona Project.[93]

NOTES follow on pages 22-31.

Notes

1. John W. C. Johnstone, Edward J. Slawski and William W. Bowman, The News People (University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1976), 103.

2. Letter from Jerry Uhrhammer, IRE president, to fellow board members, 30 July 1981.

3. Leonard Downie, Jr. The New Muckrakers, (The New Republic Book Company Inc., Washington, D.C., 1976), 10.

4. Ibid.

5. Evidence of this resurgence is clear in the increase in investigative story submissions for Pulitzer Prizes in 1975, for example, and in the number of books and dissertations published in the 1970s and afterward on investigative journalism and muckraking, i.e., Jack Anderson, The Anderson Papers (New York, Random House, 1973); Peter Benjaminson and David Anderson, Investigative Reporting (2nd ed., Iowa State University Press, 1990); Leonard Downie, Jr. The New Muckrakers (The New Republic Book Company, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1976); James H. Dygert, The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1976); Virginia Dodge Fielder and David H. Weaver, "Public Opinion on Investigative Reporting," Newspaper Research Journal, 3(2), January 1982, 54-62; John M. Harrison and Harry M. Stein, eds., Muckraking: Past, Present and Future (The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1973); Seymour Hersh, Cover Up (Random House, New York, 1972); Frederick R. Lynch, "The credibility clash: conservatives and investigative reporters," Antioch Review 35: 283-300, Spring/Summer 1977; Robert Miraldi, Muckraking and Objectivity: Journalism's Colliding Traditions (Greenwood Press, New York, 1990); Clark R. Mollenhoff, "Investigative Reporting: The Precarious Profession," Nieman Reports, Summer 1976, 37-40; Newsday, editors and staff, The Heroin Trail (New American Library, New York, 1974); Leonard Sellers, "Investigative Reporting: Methods and Barriers," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976; Arthur and Lila Weinberg, The Muckrakers (Capricorn Books, New York, 1964); and Michael F. Wendland, The Arizona Project, How a Team of Investigative Reporters Got Revenge on Deadline (Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., Kansas City, 1977).

6.J. Herbert Altschull, From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism (Longman, White Plains, New York, 1990), 291.

7.David Protess, Fay Lomax Cook, Jack C. Doppelt, James S. Ettema, Margaret T. Gordon, Donna R. Leff, and Peter Miller, The Journalism of Outrage: Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America (The Guilford Press, New York, 1991), 5-11.

8.See John M. Harrison and Harry M. Stein, eds., Muckraking: Past, Present and Future (The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1973), and Leonard Sellers, "Investigative Reporting: Methods and Barriers," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1976.

9.Downie, The New Muckrakers, 10.

10.New York Times, 20 February 1975.

11.Downie, The New Muckrakers, 241; The New York Times, 6 May 1975; and John Hohenberg, The Professional Journalist (University of Kansas, 1978), 446.

12.New York Times, 29 April 1975.

13.Downie, The New Muckrakers, 241.

14.James Dygert, The Investigative Journalist, Folk Heroes of a New Era (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1976), 233-236. The team members were William Anderson, Harley R. Bierce, Richard Cady and Myrta Pulliam.

15.The earliest correspondence pertaining to the proposed organization is a letter dated 6 February 1975 from Harley R. Bierce, member of the award-winning Star team, to J. Montgomery Curtis, Miami Herald, Miami, Florida, to discuss ideas for the reporters' organization (IRE Resource Center files, University of Missouri, Columbia).

16.Ibid.

17.Ibid.

18.Edward O. DeLaney, telephone interview with author, 14 February 1992.

19.Myrta Pulliam and Harley R. Bierce, letter enclosure, "For Discussion Purposes Only," 13 February 1975, to Stu McDonald, ANPA Foundation, Section 1, 2.

20.Ibid.

21.Pulliam and Bierce, "For Discussion Purposes Only," document to Stu McDonald, 13 February 1975, Section 11, 2.

22.The members of the executive committee were Harley R. Bierce, Indianapolis Star; Edward O. Delaney, Indianapolis attorney; Robert Friedly, Indianapolis, director of communications for Christian Church, Disciples of Christ; Ronald Kozial, investigative reporter for the Chicago Tribune; Robert Peirce, St. Louis Globe-Democrat; Myrta Pulliam, Indianapolis Star, and Paul Williams, associate professor of journalism, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, and former managing editor of the Sun, Omaha, Nebraska. All seven signed this "Report to Lilly Endowment, Inc., c/o Charles Williams, vice president," 12 March 1975 (otherwise categorized as "Minutes from IRE Original Meeting in Reston, IRE Resource Center files, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri). Information pertaining to the Lilly Endowment, Inc., grant, is also contained in an "Expense Report" as of 5 March 1975. The report notes that the Lilly grant amounted to $3,128, from which expenditure amounted to $1,802.34. According to the report, the executive committee was directed to undertake a survey to determine the services needed by journalists; issue press releases on the meeting; seek funding; determine procedures for a formal organization; build a directory of investigative reporters; and plan a national meeting.

23.One of the executive committee members, Paul Williams (along with Bierce and Pulliam), was a key founder of IRE. The first person to win a Pulitzer for investigative reporting at a weekly newspaper, Williams, in an article titled "Boys Town: an expose without bad guys," in the January/February 1975 edition of Columbia Journalism Review, wrote that the 29 March 1972 edition of the Sun contained "Boys Town: America's Wealthiest City?" a 3,500-word "hard-hitting" story that depicted "institutional inertia" at the non-profit institution whose net worth would have ranked it 230th on Fortune's list of the "Top 500" industrial firms. Having won a Pulitzer, Williams, a journalist for 26 years, moved to Ohio State where he taught investigative reporting, wrote Investigative Reporters and Editors, and acted as adviser to the campus daily newspaper, the Lantern.

Professor Sharon Brock of Ohio State, in a telephone interview on 17 February 1992 said negotiations to have the School of Journalism at Ohio State house IRE headquarters were in train when Williams died in Columbus on 29 October 1976. After his death, Ohio State failed to pursue IRE to locate in Columbus and the organization was subsequently housed at the University of Missouri, Columbia. A heavy smoker, Williams was recovering from 'flu and pneumonia at his home and was "proofreading final galleys of his book when he dropped dead," Brock said. Because of his investigative work, IRE insisted on an autopsy, and his wife, Pat, consented. A letter dated 1 November 1976, from IRE director Harley R. Bierce, to Robert W. "Bob" Greene, Suffolk editor of Newsday and IRE member, about Williams's death, noted: "He may have had a heart attack but pending the outcome of an autopsy that is only speculation. . . . Paul was a key to the pending establishment of a resource center at Ohio University [sic]."

24."How IRE Got Its Name" (IRE Resource Center files). The organization's logo was devised by Michael Dominguez of Indianapolis, an art graduate and staffer of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). See Downie, The New Muckrakers (The New Republic Book Company, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1976), 155-161; and Carla Marie Rupp, "IRE reporters hold 'serious' convention," Editor & Publisher, 24 June 1978, 50, for more information on Whitten.

25.Gerald B. Healey, "Data center established by investigative group," Editor & Publisher, 26 June 1976, 7.

26.Expense Report for 1975, IRE Resource Center files.

27.Robert L. Friedly, Letter to Myrta Pulliam, Indianapolis, 28 May 1976 (IRE Resource Center files).

28.Alexander Cockburn, "Quis Custodiet," the Village Voice, 10 May 1976. Interestingly, Cockburn was later suspended from the Voice for an ethical offense. He had accepted a $10,000 grant from the Institute for Arab Studies in 1982 for a proposed book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon without notifying Voice management. See M. K. Guzda, " 'Ethics' or politics?" Editor & Publisher, 21 January 1984, 11.

29.Jim Drinkhall, "Conflict-of-Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group," Wall Street Journal, 23 February 1977.

30.Telephone interviews with Bob Greene, Arizona Project team leader and former IRE president; James Polk of NBC, also a former IRE president; and Jerry Uhrhammer of the News Tribune, Tacoma, Washington, another former IRE president, 5 March 1992, provided a list of the benefits that accrued to IRE as a result of the Arizona Project. They included national publicity; national awards; instant recognition; improved investigative practices among journalists; the leverage to provide educational and professional workshops and seminars; a resource center at the University of Missouri, Columbia, and the accompanying "respectability" of such an affiliation; public perception of IRE members as top-class professionals whose Project stories withstood the test of six libel suits; an expanded and strengthened organization; and a pool of prospective young leaders for the organization, many of whom were the "desert rats" of the Arizona Project.

31."Arizona Reporter Hurt Badly By a Bomb Under Car's Floor," the New York Times, 3 June 1976.

32.Michael F. Wendland, The Arizona Project: How a Team of Investigative Reporters Got Revenge on Deadline (Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., Kansas City, 1977), 4.

33.Michael F. Wendland, *The Arizona Project, How a Team of Investigative Reporters Got Revenge on Deadline* (Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc., Kansas City, 1977), 6.

34.Max Jennings, "The Murder of a Newsman," *Quill*, July-August 1976, 13. See also, Tom Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks? The Story Behind the Goldwater/Arizona Exposé," *Mother Jones*, June 1977, 28; Harvey Saalberg, "Martyrs to the Press," *Editor & Publisher*, 31 July 1976, 23, and Wendland, *The Arizona Project*, 6.

35.Harvey Saalberg, "Martyrs to the Press: Donald F. Bolles," *Editor & Publisher*, 31 July 1976, 23. The time of Bolles's departure from the pressroom is unclear. It is cited as 10 A.M. in the *New York Times*, 3 June 1976, and as 11:15 A.M. by Saalberg.

36.Max Jennings, "The Murder of a Newsman," *Quill*, July-August 1976, 13-18.

37.Ibid.

38.Tom Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" *Mother Jones*, June 1977, 26.

39."Arizona Reporter Hurt Badly By a Bomb Under Car's Floor," *New York Times*, 3 June 1976. See also: "Witness in Maiming of Writer Gives Up But Refuses to Talk," *New York Times*, 5 June 1976; Robert Lindsey, "Organized Crime Spreads to Fast-Growing Arizona," *New York Times*, 14 June 1976; "Land scheme key to Bolles' murder," *Editor & Publisher*, 19 June 1976, 9; Wendland, *The Arizona Project*, 3; and Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" *Mother Jones*, 26.

Bolles is thought to have mentioned "Mafia" and "Emprise" because he had written stories about mob infiltration in Arizona and of connections to the Emprise Corporation, a Buffalo, New York-based sports concession company.

40."Don Bolles Dies: Maimed Reporter" *New York Times*, 14 June 1976. Bolles was a native of Hackensack, New Jersey, and was the son of an Associated Press editor. He had served in the Army in Korea before working for the Associated Press in New York, Kentucky and New Jersey. He joined the *Arizona Republic* in 1962 and, according to Michael F. Wendland, in *The Arizona Project*, rapidly became "the star of the paper."(4) He had been nominated for the Pulitzer Prize for his articles on bribery and other corruption, and, had gained other recognitions, including the Arizona Press Club Newsman of the Year Award in 1974.

41.Robert Lindsey, "Wealthy Rancher Questioned in Bomb Slaying of Phoenix Reporter," *New York Times*, 8 July 1976.

42.Ibid.

43."The Bolles File," *Newsweek*, 31 January 1977, 32.

44."Wealthy Rancher Questioned in Bomb Slaying of Phoenix Reporter," New York Times, 8 July 1976. See also: "Adamson names 2 [sic] who hired him to kill Bolles," Editor & Publisher, 22 January 1977; Robert Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial," New York Times, 3 September 1977, and "Putting Heat on the Sunbelt Mafia," Time, 28 March 1977, 21-22.

45.Robert Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start # of Bolles Trial," New York Times, 3 September 1977.

46."Liquor Dealer Denies Any Role in Bolles Death," New York Times, 14 October 1977. See also "Adamson names 2 [sic] who hired him to kill Bolles," Editor & Publisher, 22 January 1977, 10.

47."2 [sic] More Held in Reporter's Slaying As Phoenix Suspect Pleads Guilty," New York Times, 16 January 1977.

48.Ibid.

49."2 [sic] Found Guilty in '76 [sic] Bomb Killing of Phoenix Investigative Reporter," New York Times, 7 November 1977. See also "2 [sic] Sentenced to Die for Phoenix Reporter's Murder," New York Times, 11 January 1978. The latter story tells how Dunlap and Robison "proclaimed their innocence and criticized the court," and cites Dunlap in an interview after the decision as saying that Adamson's testimony "was not supported in any way by other witnesses."

50.Robert Lindsey, "Defendant Guilty in Reporter's Death,"New York Times, 18 October 1980.

51.Robert Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial," New York Times, 3 September 1977.

52. "They Finally Got Me," Time, June 28, 1976, 19-20. See also David M. Alpern, "They Don't Shoot Reporters, Do They? The Mafia May Threaten, But It's Usually Been Hands-off When It Comes to The Press," MORE, January 1977, 23.

53. Robert Lindsey, "Vengeance Suggested as Motive in Slaying of Arizona Reporter," New York Times, 9 July 1976. See also Robert Lindsey, "Reporter's Slaying Sharpens Focus on Arizona Crime," New York Times, 29 August 1976; and Lindsey, "Arizona Businessman Dominates Start of Bolles Trial," New York Times, 3 September 1977.

54."Reporters' Group Plans Data Center," New York Times, 21 June 1976.

55.Robert Lindsey, "18 [sic] Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime," New York Times, 5 October 1976. See also "Journalism in Groups," New York Times, 10 October 1976, Sec. 4.

56.Ibid.

57."Arizona Invasion Force," Time, 18 October 1976, 61. Interestingly, this story contains factual error which was a deliberate perpetration by an IRE source. The article claims that the suite was on the thirteenth floor of the Adams Hotel, and that a security man guarded the "unmarked suite." The hotel had no thirteenth floor, that floor being called the nineteenth, and the IRE suite, 1939, had no security man. IRE members wanted to work in relative obscurity and did not want revelation of their activities, which prompted the white lie. See John Consoli, "Investigative reporters debate use of teamwork," Editor & Publisher, 25 June 1977, 13.

58."Mightier Than The Sword," Newsweek, 20 September 1976, 84.

59. "Putting Heat on the Sunbelt Mafia," Time, 28 March 1977, 21-22.

60.John Merrill, The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World (Pitman Publishing Corporation, New York, 1968).

61. Robert Lindsey, "18 [sic] Reporters Begin Joint Inquiry Into Arizona Crime," New York Times, 5 October 1976.

62.Ibid.

63.Melvin Mencher, "The Arizona Project: An Appraisal," Columbia Journalism Review, November/December 1977, 38.

64.Ibid.

65.Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" Mother Jones, June 1977, 27-42.

66."Mightier Than The Sword," Newsweek, 20 September 1976, 84.

67.Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" Mother Jones, June 1977, 28. See also James H. Dygert, The Investigative Journalist (Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976), 108-117.

68.Robert Lindsey, "Team Begins Writing Arizona Crime Series," New York Times, 6 February 1977. See also "Mightier Than The Sword," Newsweek, 20 September 1976, 84. Greene is cited in that article as saying: "This is not a posse. It's a careful, professional response to the assassination of a reporter. But the primary aim is to focus on the total political-mob milieu in which it was felt that killing a reporter was a reasonable way to keep the press from bothering their operations . . . ."

69."The Pack Tackles the Mob," Newsweek, 28 March 1977, 85.

70.Ibid.

71.Jim Drinkhall, "Conflict-of-Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group," Wall Street Journal, 23 February 1977.

72.Edward O. DeLaney, secretary, IRE, letter to Frederick Taylor, managing editor, Wall Street Journal, 20 March 1977, published in The IRE Frontier, April 1977 (IRE Resource Center files, University of Missouri).

73.Bob Greene, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992.

74.Jerry Uhrhammer, IRE president, in a letter to IRE fellow board members, 4 November 1980 (IRE Resource Center files), discusses the organization's "precarious financial situation" and expresses disagreement with the organization's contributing a portion of its membership dues to a legal defense fund that arose from the Arizona Project. Uhrhammer wrote: "And if we force reductions in those services (the journal, the resource center, etc.) by financially hamstringing Missouri, we will be cutting back on IRE's very reason for existence. That can only lead to deterioration in our membership rolls. If that happens, IRE's financial illness will be terminal. And the legal fund will expire along with the organization . . . . we will end up threatening the very survival of IRE as an organization."

Similar sentiments were expressed by board member, Tom Renner, who wrote in a letter to Uhrhammer: "For as long as I can remember, IRE has struggled to keep its head above the abyss of financial ruin . . . ."

See John Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil; plans membership drive," Editor & Publisher, 2 July 1977, 12, for a discussion of the organization's budget.

75.Telephone interviews by the author with Bob Greene, James Polk, and Jerry Uhrhammer, 5 March 1992, indicated that IRE finances have always been limited -- and still are. Until 1981, however, the channeling of a portion of all membership dues into the Arizona Project-spawned legal defense fund lessened the organization's disposable income.

76.Greene claimed in the telephone interview, 5 March 1992, that he had project participants sign "a piece of paper" that they would not benefit personally from the Project. "That way, nobody could ever argue we went out there to make money, throw dirt in our faces, cloud the issue -- make the organization look bad." Jerry Uhrhammer, in an interview on the same day, said he had no recollection of there being a piece of paper. He remembered "the morning in the Adams Hotel when Bob laid this (the proposal not to profit personally) out and everyone consented." A MORE article noted attorney Edward O. DeLaney claimed to have a copy of an agreement signed by Wendland. See "Deadline Revenge: Reporter's IRE Book Sparks Controversy," MORE, October 1977, 9.

77.Bob Greene, IRE president, letter to members, 2 March 1978 (IRE Resource Center files). See also "Deadline Revenge: Reporter's IRE Book Sparks Controversy," MORE, October 1977, 9; and John Consoli and Gerald B. Healey, "Phoenix Project enmeshes IRE in news controversy," Editor & Publisher, 19 March 1977, 12.

78.Consoli and Healey, "Phoenix Project enmeshes IRE in news controversy," Editor & Publisher, 19 March 1977, 12. See also Greene, letter to members, 2 March 1978 (IRE Resource Center files); John Consoli, "IRE head criticizes 'Arizona Project' book," Editor & Publisher, 11 March 1978, 15; and Jim Drinkhall, "Conflict-of-Interest, Censorship Charges Jar Unlikely Group," Wall Street Journal, 23 February 1977.

79.Lewis, "Have Reporters Become Sitting Ducks?" Mother Jones, June 1977, 42.

80."Wife of Bolles, Slain Reporter, Says Others Profit by His Name," New York Times, 19 March 1977.

81.John Consoli, "Cooperation with police defended by IRE reporter," Editor & Publisher, 25 March 1978. See also "IRE leader feels reporters should surrender notes," Editor & Publisher, 3 March 1979.

82.Ibid.

83.John Consoli, "IRE survives turmoil; plans membership drive," Editor & Publisher, 2 July 1977, 12.

84.Bob Greene, letter to members, 2 March 1978, 4 (IRE Resource Center files).

85.James Polk, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992.

86.Dean Roy M. Fisher, University of Missouri School of Journalism, letter to Greene, 9 May 1978, 1 (IRE Resource Center files). See also Carla Marie Rupp, "IRE may open resource center on September 1," Editor & Publisher, 1 July 1978, 11; "On the Move," IRE Frontier, May 1978, 1; and "IRE's New Home and Resource Center," IRE Journal, August 1978, 1.

87.Minutes from the Executive Committee, IRE, Emergency Meeting by Teleconference, 15 September 1980 (IRE Resource Center files). See also "Those who sued IRE came away empty," Editor & Publisher, 4 December 1984, 17, and "Arizona millionaire's suit against IRE is dismissed," Editor & Publisher, 25 July 1981, 19.

88.John Ullmann, IRE executive director, letter to colleagues, 30 May 1979 (IRE Resource Center files). See also "IRE establishes annual awards competition," Editor & Publisher, 23 June 1979.

89.Jerry Uhrhammer, IRE president, letter to fellow board members, 30 July 1981 (IRE Resource Center files).

90."IRE's Agenda For The Eighties," 4 August 1981, 1-8 (IRE Resource Center files).

91.Jerry Uhrhammer, telephone interview with the author, 5 March 1992. In the mid-late 1980s, IRE introduced the practice of having people join the organization in order to attend conferences. This practice has been accountable for some of the surge in membership. See also Protess et al., The Journalism of Outrage (The Guilford Press, New York, 1991), 5.

92.Jerry Uhrhammer, interview, 5 March 1992.

93.Bob Greene, telephone interview with author, 5 March 1992. There is consensus among Greene, James Polk and Jerry Uhrhammer as to the benefits of the project to IRE.

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Battling Prejudice and Poverty:
The Antebellum Black Press and the Struggle for Survival

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A paper presented to the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Kansas City, MO., August 1993

Battling Prejudice and Poverty:
The Antebellum Black Press and the Struggle for Survival

When John Russworm and Samuel Cornish launched the first African-American newspaper, Freedom's Journal in 1827, there seemed to be a vast and untapped audience hungering for news by and about the black community. In the first issue they optimistically observed that there were "FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND free persons of colour, one half of whom might peruse, and the whole be benefitted by the publication of the Journal."[1] But within a year Russworm had left the paper after the two clashed over the question of black colonization in Africa. Cornish renamed the paper the Rights of All, and continued his quest to make it a dominant cultural and political force among free blacks. But by 1829, he could not secure enough subscribers or underwriters to keep the paper going, and the first African-American newspaper ceased publication.[2]

In the decades before the Civil War, sustenance was rare for the nearly forty African-American newspapers that quickly appeared and disappeared. These publications played a vital role in galvanizing the abolitionist movement, encouraging education and racial improvement, and disseminating the news, yet nearly all operated at a loss and most were short lived.[3] Most studies of the antebellum black press have focused on the editorial content of these newspapers or the individuals who edited and published them. The most recent comprehensive study on the subject repeatedly points to the financial difficulties of the black press, but does not dwell on the specific economic, political, and cultural factors that impeded their success.[4]

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[1] Freedom's Journal, 16 March 1827.

[2] See, for example, Bernell Tripp, Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847 (Northport, Al.: Vision Press, 1992) 12-27; and Kenneth Nordin, "In Search of Black Unity: An Interpretation of the Content and Function of Freedom's Journal," Journalism History 4 (Winter 1977-78): 123-8.

This paper examines what happened to a little-known black newspaper, the Provincial Freeman, which was published between 1854-1860 in what is now Canada's Ontario Province. The Freeman, which served Canada's community of fugitive slaves and black expatriates, was among only a half-dozen antebellum black-owned newspapers that lasted more than two years, although it eventually folded on the eve of the Civil War.[5] Scholars have noted that few business records exist for nineteenth century newspapers, and this is particularly true for the small and undercapitalized black press.[6] But by tracing the bits of evidence in the papers' editorial columns, and in surviving correspondence and other documents, we can begin to understand what was involved in the struggle for survival of the antebellum African-American press. In particular, the editors and publishers of these papers generally toiled unsuccessfully to build a viable subscription base, solicit donations, recruit advertisers, and receive payment for their product. This study suggests they were hampered by the poverty and illiteracy of their target audience, the racism or indifference of potential advertisers, the competition for limited resources within the abolitionist and free black communities, and their lack of fiscal expertise.

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[3] See discussion in Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 86-7.

[4] See Frankie Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993) 3-4, 21.

[5] Other continuing black newspapers were the Christian Recorder (Philadelphia), Mirror of the Times (San Francisco), The Anglo-African (New York), and L'Union--The Union (New Orleans).

[6] Gerald J. Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) 8.

Nineteenth-century journalism was a financially risky venture, even for white males. "Running a newspaper is like rowing a boat up-stream," observed one late-nineteenth century editor.[7] Early in the century white publishers relied on the support of political parties to subsidize their newspapers. By mid-century the urban press increasingly turned to sensationalism and simplified writing to attract a mass readership that would turn a tidy profit, and advertising became their lifeblood.[8] While mainstream newspapers became commercialized, abolitionist and other reform journals retained the model of partisan journalism, counting on anti-slavery societies, religious organizations, and other groups for financial support. African-American journalists tapped into these same resources, or attempted to establish their own institutions--such as the publication committees of the black conventions--to promote their papers. But, without a reliable source of patronage, African-American newspapers were at a distinct disadvantage.

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[7] E. W. Howe, "Country Newspapers," Century 42 (September 1891): 777.

[8] Baldasty, 52-58. Also see discussion on the profit motive in Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 186-8; and the role of political partisanship in supporting newspapers in Michael E. McGerr, The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 14-22.

In the 1850s, the influential black newspapers, Frederick Douglass' Paper and the Christian Herald, were heavily subsidized by philanthropists or independent institutions. Only one paper, The Colored Man's Journal, published in New York City from 1851-1861, enjoyed the relative security of financial backing from a rich friend.[9] Frederick Douglass began his first newspaper, the North Star, in 1847, with the $4,000 he had brought back from his tour of Britain, and commitments of financial support from numerous influential white abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. One of Douglass' most reliable patrons was the New York politician and philanthropist Gerrit Smith, who contributed large sums to his newspaper ventures.[10] The North Star benefitted from Douglass' national reputation as an anti-slavery lecturer and his widespread political contacts, so much that in 1851 he renamed the paper after himself. Despite his connections and influence, publication of Frederick Douglass' Paper was halted in July 1860 due to lack of funds.[11]

The Christian Recorder, the oldest continuously published black newspaper in the United States, was founded in 1852 as the organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus, the paper received support through the church's Publication Department, and ministers and their congregations helped with fund raising. Yet, throughout the 1850s the paper struggled for survival, often changing editors and lapsing into irregular publication. Stability would not come to the Recorder until after the Civil War.[12]

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[9] Carter Bryan, "Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," Journalism Monographs 12 (September 1969): 32-3.

[10] William S. McFeely, Frederick Douglass (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 147-151.

[11] Quarles, Black Abolitionists, 87-8.

Most antebellum black newspapers had none of the assets of Frederick Douglass or the A.M.E. Church, yet a handful did manage to stay alive through a combination of determination, sacrifice, and sense of purpose. As one scholar notes, "It was the dogged work of the editors . . . that kept various newspapers barely afloat throughout the pre-Civil War Years."[13] The founder, publisher, and editor of the Provincial Freeman was Mary Ann Shadd Cary, who is considered to be the first black woman in North America to engage in these journalistic activities. Although she often charged that her gender prevented many blacks and sympathetic whites from supporting her newspaper, the problems that befell the Provincial Freeman were not unlike those encountered by her male counterparts.

Mary Ann Shadd was a freeborn African-American who grew up in a family that was active in abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. She was educated by Quakers in Pennsylvania and at the age of 16 she began a career as a teacher in the impoverished segregated schools of the North. In 1851, at the age of 28, she moved to Canada West to open a school for the growing population of blacks fleeing slavery and oppression in the United States. Shadd was not content to play a quiet or submissive role as the local schoolteacher for the small frontier town of Windsor. She quickly became active in Canadian abolitionist politics, and openly argued with the community's male leadership, in particular Henry Bibb, a fugitive slave who published Canada's only black newspaper, the Voice of the Fugitive.

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[12] For background on the Recorder, see Gilbert A. Williams, "The Role of the Christian Recorder in the African Emigration Movement, 1854-1902," Journalism Monographs 111 (April 1989): 3-6; and Daniel Alexander Payne, The History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. 1 (New York: New York Times Press, 1969).

[13] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, 3.

They violently disagreed over the practices of the Refugee Home Society, a black settlement headed by Bibb and a group of white missionaries, whom Shadd accused of using begging and deceitful practices to raise funds. Bibb was openly hostile to Shadd's views, and the fact that she refused to stay in a woman's proper place. Shadd objected to Bibb's support for segregated black schools and churches, and to the Refugee Home Society's system of land distribution. But without a newspaper to disseminate this point of view, Shadd and her supporters were at a distinct disadvantage. As their ideological battles worsened, Shadd became determined to start her own newspaper, and as 1852 came to a close, she began to rally interest in the idea. Thus, from the beginning, political discord within the black community meant that there would be competition with, if not outright opposition to, the creation of another publication.

Behind the scenes Shadd approached potential collaborators. In a fragment of a letter to Shadd dated sometime in 1852, one prospective editor--perhaps Samuel Ringgold Ward, an experienced publisher and anti-slavery lecturer--discussed the feasibility of starting a new newspaper in Canada West.[14] Shadd had apparently invited the letter's author to become associated with an editorial group that would include herself and her friend, Rev. Alexander McArthur, a white missionary. She proposed publishing the paper in Windsor and asked advice about how to run such an operation. The respondent clearly understood the problems and instability associated with publishing a black newspaper:

> It would be a pleasure to be associated with Rev. McArthur in the conducting of a paper such as you describe. But I am afraid that the amount of money needed for such an enterprise would be more difficult to raise than you would suppose. My opinion is that the expenses for such a paper would be $30 a week. The first two years a paper of the sort would not support itself. Hence a friend would be needed to keep [it going].[15]

The correspondent advised against publishing in the small town of Windsor, arguing that Toronto was a more influential locale and that few blacks in the underdeveloped western parts of the province would read the paper. The author also cautioned Shadd that publishing outside a large city would increase postage costs.[16] Perhaps the most important advice was that Shadd find a rich benefactor.

A few months later Shadd and Ward were busy planning the paper, which they intended to model after the Pennsylvania Freeman, published by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.[17] At least one meeting was held in Canada West to support their efforts. Samuel Ward was a powerful ally for Shadd in her struggle for a voice in Canada's black community. He openly supported Shadd's opposition to the Refugee Home Society. In a year's time, Ward had shifted from being a regular contributor to the Voice and a cautious supporter of the R.H.S. to joining the growing chorus of criticism against the society's questionable fund-raising practices on behalf of Canada's fugitive slave population.

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[14] Letter to Mary Ann Shadd, 1852, author unknown, Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Mary Ann Shadd to Samuel Ringgold Ward, n.d., Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto.

Ward also had firsthand knowledge of the excitement and disappointment inherent in publishing a black newspaper in North America during the antebellum years. His most successful paper, the Impartial Citizen (1849-1851), published in Syracuse and Boston, had been widely respected in abolitionist circles and the daily press. On announcing the founding of Ward's paper, one journal described the editor as ". . . a nervous writer and very effective speaker on all matters of reform"[18] while Horace Greeley's New York Tribune called the Impartial Citizen ". . . an able and radical anti-slavery paper, holding to the doctrine that the United States Constitution is an anti-slavery instrument."[19] Yet the Impartial Citizen was prey to the financial problems that plagued most African-American newspapers: lagging subscriptions, limited advertising, and insufficient capital to keep it afloat. Articles complaining about deadbeat subscribers were common. "We shall be compelled to send bills to many of our subscribers, immediately," Ward wrote in an early issue of the paper.[20]

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[18] Handwritten copy from The Religious Recorder (Syracuse, N.Y.), 22 February 1849, Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, N.Y.

[19] New York Tribune, 17 July 1850.

[20] The Impartial Citizen, 14 November 1849.

In 1851, Ward fled across the border to Canada after helping to rescue a fugitive slave from extradition in Syracuse. His departure meant the paper's demise. "The Impartial Citizen breathed its last, after a lingering illness of the spine, and obstructions, impurities and irregularities of the circulation," quipped Ward.[21] Charges of improper handling of the paper's finances haunted Ward for another year.[22] In response to the accusations, Ward said the Impartial Citizen had "run hopelessly into debt after spending all I received from subscribers, and from my own personal labors . . . to keep the paper afloat" and that he was arrested for debts and forced to file for bankruptcy in Massachusetts.[23]

With such a painful history it is not surprising that although Ward agreed to serve as editor to lend prestige and credibility to Shadd's newspaper, he made no financial commitment to the enterprise. The prototype issue of the Provincial Freeman was published in Windsor, Canada West on March 24, 1854. On the front page Ward was listed as editor, Rev. Alexander McArthur as corresponding editor, and a seven-member Committee of Publication was named, which included some of Canada's most prominent black leaders. Since Ward lived in Toronto, McArthur lived in the nearby town of Amherstburg and was on a three-month tour of fugitive settlements, and half of the publication committee's members lived hundreds of miles from Windsor, it is clear from the outset that the tasks of writing, editing, and producing the newspaper were in Shadd's hands. Yet, only one sentence under the masthead indicated who was the real power behind the newspaper: "Letters must be addressed, post-paid, to Mary A. Shadd, Windsor, Canada West." The timing of the paper's debut was important because it demonstrated that the opposition to Bibb and the Refugee Home Society had not been silenced. Instead, Shadd and her allies had gained a vigorous new medium for their protests. Even the selection of the paper's name was symbolically useful: Shadd and Ward sought to represent Canada's black population as independent and autonomous "freemen" rather than as dependent and oppressed "fugitives," as portrayed by the opposition. Under the flag was the phrase "Union is Strength," an ironic motto given that the paper's founders were engaged in a bitter and often vicious controversy between the Bibb and Shadd factions that had caused a deep split among black and white abolitionists in Canada and the United States.

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[21] Voice of the Fugitive, 5 November 1851.

[22] The charges were launched by Jermain W. Loguen, an African Methodist Episcopal Zion minister and escaped slave, who fled to Canada with Ward after both were involved in the Syracuse fugitive slave rescue. Their long association notwithstanding, Loguen charged that Ward absconded with subscription payments for the Impartial Citizen. See Voice of the Fugitive, 29 July 1852.

[23] Ibid.

On the front page, the Provincial Freeman's editors explained that this first issue was a prototype for a future publication that "shall be issued weekly after a sufficient number of CASH subscribers, at 7s. 6d. currency ($1.50) per annum, shall have been obtained." Ward's earlier experiences with financially ailing newspapers had likely influenced the paper's backers not to begin regular publication until there was a solid base of capital available for its operation. The Provincial Freeman resembled most newspapers of the period. It was a four-page broadsheet with seven columns on each page; editorial material was offset by small headlines or titles. There were no ads or illustrations in this first issue, but it was filled with articles, essays, letters, prose and poetry that would foreshadow the paper's later content.

In his opening editorial Ward noted that the paper would be moved to one of Ontario's larger cities, either London or Toronto, and would be issued on a weekly basis. Ward pledged the Provincial Freeman's service to the nineteenth century reform movements in which many African Americans played a central role, including abolitionism, temperance, and racial uplift. Most important, the Provincial Freeman would be an autonomous voice without allegiance to any religion or political party. "The religious influence of this Journal shall be free from sectarianism," said Ward. ". . . As to politics, the Freeman is the organ of no party." This is the most that Samuel Ringgold Ward would ever write for the Provincial Freeman. A brief "apology," probably written by Shadd, followed his editorial and indicated the tenuous nature of Ward's association with the paper:

> This number of the Freeman is published under very unfavorable circumstances. Mr Ward is either travelling, or at his residence more than 350 miles from Windsor, where this number is printed; and, as Mr. W. is obliged to perform other [illegible] for a livelihood, it is impossible for him to give the attention to the paper that he would were his pecuniary interests connected with it.[24]

Ward traveled continuously on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, and beyond the pieces written for the first issue, his most significant contribution as editor was in the use of his name and reputation to attract readers and supporters. Ward's role as editor was symptomatic of the problems facing the antebellum black press. Because of his education and activism, he was in great demand as a spokesman for his race, although he had to engage in myriad activities to earn the living that was not available through journalism. Ward's attention was further divided by his agreement to serve as corresponding editor for another fledgling black newspaper, The Aliened American, published in Cleveland by William Howard Day.[25] A letter from Ward figured prominently in its first issue, which appeared on April 9, 1853, less than two weeks after the Provincial Freeman's first issue. Ward wrote that his commitments to three anti-slavery newspapers might appear to be fickleness, but it really demonstrated his lifelong quest to "serve my own people, to the extent of my very limited ability."[26] Meanwhile, Ward's employers were preparing to send him on a lecture tour of Great Britain, a fact which may have hastened the appearance of the Provincial Freeman. Ward barely had an opportunity to observe the reaction to the new journal because on April 18, just three weeks after its publication, he embarked on his trip to England.[27]

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[24] Ibid.

After an initial outcry of protest from Bibb and his supporters, little attention was paid to the single issue of the Freeman. But Mary Ann Shadd was pleased with the prototype and spent the summer and fall of 1853 looking for financial backing from interested parties on both sides of the border. Her main strategy was to travel across the Northern United States to give lectures on emigration to Canada, and to solicit subscribers for the new journal. But there was a great deal more to learn about the newspaper business, and Shadd was still a novice. It could cost at least $500 for a printer to start a small newspaper.[28] She would have to recruit reliable traveling agents who would sell the paper in cities across Canada and the United States--and not pocket the proceeds. Shadd would need to learn about advertising and its growing influence on the financial health of newspapers; with a steady paid-in-advance advertising base a newspaper might survive periods when subscription receipts were low. She would have to learn to work with printers or set up her own print shop. Many anti-slavery publishers, like Henry Bibb, also ran a printing business on the side to support their newspapers. This would require an understanding of the changing technology of printing and typography, as well as the processes of editing and laying out pages for the workers who set every piece of type by hand.

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[25] Day, founder of the Aliened American, was a freeborn African American from Ohio who was active in abolitionism and the black convention movement. Eventually he would join the emigrationist movement and relocate in Canada West.

[26] Aliened American, 9 April 1853.

[27] Samuel Ringgold Ward, Autobiography of a Fugitive Negro: His Anti-Slavery Words and Labors in the United States, Canada and England (1855: reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968)

Sometime during the fall of 1853, Mary Ann Shadd followed through on the plans outlined in the paper's first issue, and moved the Provincial Freeman 350 miles across Canada West, from Windsor to Toronto. In the early 1850s, Toronto was the province's largest city with a population of 47,000. It was also considered to be the center of black Canadian activities, with estimates of the black population ranging from 500-1,000 persons.[29] Toronto was home to the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, and many prominent anti-slavery activists, including the family of the Freeman's nominal editor, Samuel Ward, who was still touring Great Britain. Here, Shadd decided, was the best location for building a loyal readership for the Freeman.

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[28] Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century, 5.

[29] Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 245-6. Faulty census data makes it impossible to pinpoint the numbers of black residents in Canada during this period. Estimates come from several observers in the field, including missionary Isaac Rice and reformer/activist Samuel Gridley Howe.

Shadd's plans to restart the Provincial Freeman were likely encouraged by the fall of her bitter rival's newspaper, the Voice of the Fugitive, which halted publication after Bibb's print shop was gutted by fire in the Fall of 1853. Shadd joined forces with John Dick, an Englishman who had helped Frederick Douglass run the North Star before moving to Toronto in 1850. Dick learned the printing trades in England and oversaw the production of Douglass' paper for nearly two years.[30] By the time Shadd met him, Dick was well acquainted with Toronto's printing business and he understood the particular needs of a small anti-slavery newspaper. During her first months in the city, Shadd was busy lining up financial support for the newspaper. She formed the Provincial Freeman Association and sold stock through the corporation. The stockholders were known as a Board of Trust with the responsibility of overseeing the operations of the paper. One Board member, Rev. John B. Smith, a black Baptist minister from the United States, loaned Shadd an undisclosed amount of money that was endorsed by Thomas F. Cary, another investor.[31]

Shadd did not find a single backer for the paper, but her prospects were apparently good enough to allow them to set up shop at No. 5, City Building on King Street East, in downtown Toronto, where they rented offices for 18 pounds per year. During that period, King Street was the main thoroughfare of the young city, imitative of Regent Street in London.[32] She and her associates purchased the printing equipment and materials from a local businessman for 250 pounds. They had raised enough money through stocks, subscriptions, and the loan from Rev. Smith to make a 100 pound down-payment with the balance due in a month.[33] They decided to get the paper underway on March 25, 1854, exactly a year after the prototype issue of the Provincial Freeman appeared. On the surface, the Freeman's leadership remained unchanged, with Samuel Ringgold Ward still listed as editor, Alexander McArthur as corresponding editor, and M. A. Shadd as publishing agent.

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[30] McFeely, Frederick Douglass, 152-3.

[31] Mary Ann Shadd, "Report of the Affairs of the Provincial Freeman Association," n.d., Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

A small ad in the Freeman announced that "the proprietors" sought jobs printing cards, labels, handbills, show bills, circulars, books, and other materials. It is safe to assume that these activities fell to John Dick since Shadd had no experience as a printer. The ad claimed that the Provincial Freeman was fully equipped to carry out such activities and that the business had been purchased from a Mr. Stephens. Dick's exact role at the newspaper is unclear, but it is possible that he was either a major stockholder or partner in the venture, or he may have merged his own printing business with the Freeman's, or he was simply an employee. Dick wrote a brief apology for the assorted typographical and writing errors in this first issue, and proclaimed the lofty goal that the Freeman ". . . will be found to have attained to a high, if not to a first rank among the stars that bedeck the firmament of literature on our Western Hemisphere."

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[32] From description in Brown's Toronto General Directory (Toronto: W. R. Brown Printers, 1856).

[33] Ibid.

In the few months since she arrived in the Toronto, Shadd seemed to have organized a network of friends and supporters. Thus, contributor A. B. Jones placed an ad for his grocery business in the Freeman as did barber Thomas Cary, brother of contributor John Cary. There were announcements for traveling agent Smith's lectures on slavery and intemperance included among the assorted ads that were likely purchased by Shadd and Ward's supporters in Canada and the United States. Publicly, Shadd was delighted with the growing support for the Freeman:

> Already, the co-operation of powerful personages has been enlisted in our behalf, and the pen of one of the most influential Editors, in one of the cities of the north, is engaged to contribute to our columns. And though it look [sic] somewhat pretending in persons as humble as we, the remark may be maintained, that should the Freeman survive the critical period of its early childhood, it will be no unimportant medium of communication between the friends of the downtrodden on both sides of the Atlantic.[34]

The flood of letters and articles to the Freeman was testimony to the need for a black newspaper in Canada and to readers' enthusiasm about having such a medium at their disposal. In the early weeks, there were several letters welcoming the paper, and some writers offered to seek subscribers on both sides of the border--a key to the paper's economic survival. Once the paper was in print, building a subscription base was Shadd's greatest challenge. She hoped to attract 3,000 paying subscribers and announced that both friends and opponents were encouraged to take the paper. To find more subscribers the Freeman needed more travelling agents to sell the paper, and Shadd published several ads promising "a liberal discount" or a 20-percent commission for successful sales. The paper's reach lengthened with each issue, and agents appeared in Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati, and other American cities. It was an ambitious plan for building a readership; Shadd agreed to pay one agent, Abraham McKinney, $400 in four installments if he delivered 1,000 subscribers from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.[35] The Freeman appeared to be off to a healthy start.

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[34] Provincial Freeman, 24 March 1854; the unnamed editor never appeared in the newspaper.

But such appearances were deceiving, warned more experienced African-American journalists. William Still, a well-known black activist from Philadelphia, and one of Shadd's closest friends, urged those who professed support of the Freeman to back up their words with cash subscriptions. Still complained that African Americans generally failed to support their newspapers, and he worried that the same would happen for the Freeman:

> Now it can't be said that it is on account of our poverty that we are not more willing and active in supporting Anti-Slavery Papers; for it is too obvious to all that the Pro. Slavery Presses of the land, are liberally patronised [sic] by us--nor do we fear expenses if we want to adorn ourselves to be seen in a parade of some sort; or to go on an excursion; to a picknick; fancy Ball, sumptuous supper, etc., etc. Probably not an individual who indulges in these pleasures--and many there are--who fails, on any one occasion alluded to, to spend double the amount of the subscription price of Anti-Slavery Paper, in the Country . . . Again, only think, this great waste of money, this foolishly impovering ourselves, adds largely to the

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[35] Agreement made between M. A. Shadd and Abraham McKinney, 29 August 1854, Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

capital of our oppressors--the whites.[36]

Still's frustrations stemmed, in part, from his experience with the Pennsylvania Freeman, which was suffering from a lack of subscribers and financial support despite its association with one of the nation's most powerful anti-slavery organizations.[37] As subscription receipts slowly trickled in, Shadd embarked on several fund raising schemes to pay the bills. She wrote an editorial suggesting that the newspaper's supporters hold "bazaars, festivals, tea-meetings, and similar gatherings" across Canada. Shadd noted that the tradition of annual bazaars organized by women's groups in Boston and Rochester, played an important role in sustaining The Liberator and Frederick Douglass' Paper. She argued that Canadian abolitionists should be doing the same so that the Freeman "may be regarded as connected with the soil--a paper for the Canadas, as well as other parts of the world."[38]

Before the paper went to press, however, Shadd learned that the Toronto Ladies' Association for the Relief of Destitute Colored Fugitives was planning just such a bazaar--but for Frederick Douglass' Paper, not the Freeman. Frustrated and disappointed that local monies would be spent to support Douglass, with whom Shadd regularly quarreled over the issue of black emigration to Canada, Shadd lashed out in print. She asked:

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[36] Ibid.

[37] The Pennsylvania Freeman was the organ of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society with which William Still was closely associated. In Spring 1854 financial problems forced the paper to merge with the National Anti-Slavery Standard, published in Boston, leaving Philadelphia without an abolitionist journal.

[38] Provincial Freeman, 3 June 1854.

> But how is it that the wire-workers of a paper opposed to emigration to Canada, are making arrangements to hold a Bazaar for its support in the country? Are the abolitionists of Canada, or, rather of the Toronto Society, opposed to free colored people coming into the Province to settle? and are those the initiatory steps to a public endorsement of Anti-emigration views?[39]

Shadd's frustration was targeted at the Toronto Anti-Slavery Society, the umbrella agency of the Toronto Ladies' Association. The editorial sparked a controversy between the Freeman and the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada that continued for over a month and probably did more to hurt than to help the paper. And the issue foreshadowed the difficulty Shadd would encounter in trying to broaden the paper's support base.

Meanwhile, Shadd had succeeded in getting a group of the newspaper's supporters to plan a fund-raising event, and she used the editorial column to announce it--a tea meeting or festival to be held in two weeks at St. Lawrence Hall in Toronto. Local dignitaries would make speeches, refreshments would be served, and Shadd hoped Toronto's abolitionist community would generously contribute to the fledgling newspaper.[40] However, Shadd was to be disappointed with the scanty attendance at the event, and she remained bitter about what she saw as disproportionate support for Douglass' newspaper among Canadian abolitionists especially since he remained opposed to emigration.

To complicate matters further, the charade of Ward's editorship ended when his name disappeared from the front page in the October 28, 1854 issue. The duration of Samuel Ward's tour of Europe had extended far beyond anyone's expectations--he had been gone for eighteen months--and he sent little correspondence or funds to the Freeman.[41] In the fall of 1854 Shadd revealed her disappointment with Ward's involvement in the paper when she wrote that he had failed to attract subscribers or donations for the Freeman during his tour in Great Britain.[42]

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[39] Ibid.

[40] Provincial Freeman, 17 June 1854.

By the sixth month of operation, Shadd realized that she could not rely on assistance from Toronto's anti-slavery activists, and she began traveling to small towns and villages to attract subscribers. The onset of the harsh Canadian winter did not stop her ceaseless travels. From November through January, she stayed on the road, sometimes crossing the border to lecture in Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania on the subject of black emigration to Canada. She had exploited the pool of potential Canadian subscribers and began looking to the United States for new readers. During a brief respite, she announced that interested persons could invest in the Provincial Freeman press at eight dollars a share and that she had successfully organized support groups for the paper in several communities.[43] There were occasional reminders in the paper for subscribers to pay their bills, and readers were induced to solicit subscriptions with a promise of cash or free copies.

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[41] Sometime in late 1854 Ward stopped working for the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, and he continued to freelance as a lecturer in Britain although it was uncertain for whom he was raising funds. In 1855 he left Britain for Jamaica, where he settled without his wife and six children, who were left stranded in Toronto. He died in Jamaica in about 1866. See Alexander Murray, "Canada and the Anglo-American Anti-Slavery Movement: A Study in International Philanthropy" (Ph.d. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1960), 274-277.

[42] Provincial Freeman, 28 October 1854.

[43] Provincial Freeman, 28 October 1854.

The Provincial Freeman reached its first anniversary in March 1855, and Shadd's efforts to keep the paper alive were praised in a series of published letters. So, it was a shock to readers when, in early June 1855 she announced she was giving up the editorship. It is unknown what was the exact catalyst for this decision for she clearly had no intention of relinquishing her control of the newspaper. But the constant stress of finding capital to keep the paper published, and Shadd's perception that her gender was an obstacle to obtaining support from Toronto's black community, were a source of great dismay. To compound her problems the paper had barely broken even in its first year so that stockholders had no return on their investment.

Mary Ann Shadd was confronting the harsh economic realities of operating a newspaper. As one pundit noted almost a century later, newspapers were entirely dependent on the loyalty of its readers, and publishers had little recourse if reader interest waned.[44] This was especially true for black-owned periodicals that were dependent on the small proportion of the black community that was literate and had the financial means to purchase subscriptions and/or advertising. Although Toronto was Canada's largest city, Shadd constantly traveled elsewhere to find the financial support that was not forthcoming from the Freeman's home base. Her complaints echoed those of African-American journalists who preceded her--although the need for black newspapers was great, financial and emotional support was minimal:

> Much expense is incurred by publishing a paper of the most insignificant size; and a large sheet, like our own, necessitates a large outlay. Can there not be 5000 readers

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[44] Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (1922; reprint, New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 328.

> to it in Canada, alone, to say nothing of the many thousands we hope to have in the United States? . . . Who will not say to it, live on and prosper? and who will not help it to do the same by subscribing and paying for it? In case its friends and supporters do not bestir themselves, it, too, must go the way all badly supported journals go, as it should; why keep up a rickety existence, and be obliged to dunn and coax and flatter to get sums legally due, or to invite an increase of favour from mainly those whose best interests are promoted by its continuance?[45]

The combination of her disappointment with Toronto and the need to boost the paper's circulation and cut costs prompted Shadd to move the Freeman to the town of Chatham, just fifty miles east of her former home of Windsor. She returned to the less developed, westernmost region of Canada West where she had traveled during the last year to solicit contributions and subscribers. The encouragement she received from area residents led Shadd to believe that the growing population was more committed to the goals and purpose of her newspaper. Her old nemesis Henry Bibb was dead, and time had healed the wounds created by her earlier political battles in the region. In the 1850s Chatham was a bustling frontier town on the Thames River, which flowed into the Detroit River at the United States border. Varying accounts suggest blacks were 20-25 percent of Chatham's population, making them a potent economic and social force.[46]

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[45] Provincial Freeman, 23 June 1855.

[46] Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 493 notes Chatham had the third largest concentration of blacks in Canada during the period. Colin Thomson, "Doc Shadd," Saskatchewan History 30 (Spring 1977): 42, states that in the mid-1850s there were nearly 1600 blacks in Chatham or a quarter of the town's population.

Publication of the Provincial Freeman resumed on August 22, 1855. The front page was almost identical to the Toronto version of the paper; there was a large ad for the Freeman's printing business and a column of advertisements mostly from Toronto supporters. The editors hoped to encourage timely payment of bills with a humorous poem titled "Pay the Printer," which warned that "The cats will mew between your feet, The dogs will bite you on the street" if the printer's bills were ignored.

Chatham appeared to be an ideal location for the paper; a growing population and new businesses would be untapped sources of subscribers and advertisers. Indeed, this seemed to be the editor's expectation in an announcement that asked that local residents consider the Freeman "for an equal share of the publishing business of the community." But advertising and printing jobs were slow in coming, and Shadd resumed her travels while her brother Isaac Shadd kept the paper operating, and Rev. William Newman, a black minister from Toronto, served as editor.

The newspaper was struggling in its new home. Each week there were reminders for subscribers to pay their bills, and by early October the entire editorial column was devoted to this subject. Moving and setting up shop had added to the Freeman's debts, and although there were new advertisements from Chatham merchants, there was a desperate need for more subscribers. Two years earlier, Shadd had estimated that 3,000 subscribers were needed to support the paper, but now a subscription base of 5,000 was the goal. "So much being true, it must be the *duty* not only of the colored people, but also of the whites, to give the paper a *liberal support!*," wrote Newman. Although the newspaper appeared to have numerous readers, the bills were not being paid while expenses mounted, and the editors went so far as to invite payment from farmers in the form of "their 'hog and hominy', their bread and cheese, and wood, or the winged tribe. But remember, we would much rather have the cash!"[47]

While Rev. Newman penned the editorials, Isaac Shadd shouldered the responsibility for getting the paper out and keeping creditors at bay, especially in his sister's absence. During the last week of October the paper failed to appear because of "breakage of the Press," and publication was delayed again in December because an order of paper was not delivered from the distributor in Detroit.[48] He was also plagued by people refusing to pick up their papers at the post office as a means of avoiding payment for their subscriptions. At one point, he became so frustrated with this evasive tactic, that he published a column titled "The Dodgers" that listed the guilty parties by their city of residence. He charged the miscreants with publicly professing support of the Freeman while never intending to pay for the paper, and he threatened to add more names to the list. Perhaps a little humiliation would prompt the paper's readers to honor their debts. Underneath the article was a bulletin that cautioned that all persons were financially responsible for subscriptions they requested unless they notified publishers of cancellations or new addresses.

Mary Ann Shadd was attracting new readers for the paper, but she was also canvassing a population that had varying degrees of education and financial security. Many may have been caught up in the fervor and enthusiasm of supporting the black-owned journal while attending her fund-raising meetings, but when confronted with a bill for the subscription, either they could not afford to pay it or were unwilling to donate their limited resources to the venture. As another winter approached, the fortunes of the paper appeared no better although there were changes on other fronts. Mary Ann Shadd married Thomas Cary, an old friend and early supporter of the paper. Ownership of the paper changed hands several times, and Mary Ann Shadd Cary once again took on the public role of editor.

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[47] Provincial Freeman, 6 October 1855. Emphasis included.

[48] Provincial Freeman, 3 November and 22 December 1855.

Isaac Shadd was still struggling to keep the paper's financial problems at bay, and there was a rumor that someone was waiting for the paper to collapse so it could be bought out. Mary Ann heard the rumor during a stay in Chicago and confronted it publicly:

> Who in Canada hopes to play "hide and seek" with the Freeman, until they hope to see it *hopelessly* involved so as to buy it off "stock and flute," by paying the new debts only? If such crazy dolts exist, I hope the patrons of the enterprise may learn their names. I am sure if I can identify the moral monsters, I shall not scruple to call out in "meetin'."[49]

It is not surprising that the rumor was circulating given that each issue of the Freeman carried a more desperate plea for subscribers to pay their accounts. By late February an editorial warned that the Freeman might fold if payments did not start coming in, despite Mary Ann's continued success in recruiting new subscribers. The newspaper's managers averted the crisis with an announcement the following week that after Shadd Cary returned from her canvassing tour, no more subscriptions would be solicited for the rest of the year. Instead, the Freeman's agents would begin to collect cash--five cents a copy--on delivery, thus ensuring a regular cash flow and denying the paper to those who did not pay. The editorial, probably written by brother Isaac, noted that it was only because of Mary Ann's constant travels that the paper had survived this long:

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[49] Provincial Freeman, 9 February 1855. Emphasis included.

> The Freeman has now kept its head above the stern ripple of the troubled waters of adversity from week to week, having no other agencies at work for its sustenance, than the single efforts of a young woman, out of the office. These efforts alone have kept the machinery in motion; have kept in constance action, for more than two years, the political Engine on the Railway of Progress in our onward march to Moral Elevation.[50]

This new distribution plan presented additional headaches as well as a potential increase in revenue. The paper would have to hire carriers to deliver the Freeman to every household in every city, town and village where readers resided. And it meant that the subscription base would decline as patrons refused to pay cash on a weekly basis. To make matters worse, Isaac Shadd was in terrible need of help. In early March he advertised an opening for a journeyman printer, and he used the editorial column to apologize for assorted "blunders" that had appeared in the paper. It was visibly apparent that the Freeman was in trouble.

In the summer of 1855, the paper was forced to halt publication due to lack of revenue, mounting bills, and a worsening economic recession. But, on November 25, the Freeman appeared again. The paper's office had been moved to King Street West opposite the town's market, a location the editors hoped would attract more business. And the subscription price stayed at $1.50 despite an earlier planned increase to $2.00. In an editorial addressed to the Freeman's patrons, Mary Ann Shadd Cary apologized for the long absence and made it clear that the paper was in dire financial straits. The paper's editors were left feeling embattled and disheartened, and Shadd Cary expressed the tentative nature of the Freeman's existence:

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[50] Provincial Freeman, 1 March 1856.

> We feel safe in saying that any newspaper, gotten up and conducted by the efforts of colored persons, ever has had a time of the wicked opposition and the difficulty that the Provincial Freeman has had to contend against, and although there have been times when we have felt that it could not exist another week, yet the opposition made to its out-spoken sentiments, by the "serviles" among, and doing for and "doing" the colored people of these Provinces, the absence of any other real anti-slavery paper in the Canadas--the great need of a paper through which our mis-represented people can speak their sentiments, and the happy ignorance of many on certain subjects that we deem of vital importance have determined us to "try, try again."[51]

Isaac Cary wrote a brief plea to local merchants to give a share of their business to the Freeman's printing operations. He complained that without government support the Freeman was unable to compete in the local market because it was consistently underbid by other printers who had other sources of revenue. Isaac's appeal hints at the difficulty a black-owned paper faced when trying to vie with whites for business. The fact that the Freeman was often critical of Canadian race relations and local officials, as well as the realities of racial prejudice in Chatham, meant that such income was unlikely.

The times were difficult for most African-American journalists. When Frederick Douglass reduced the size of his newspaper because of similar financial problems, Shadd Cary praised his fiscal prudence. But she also wondered what would be the fate of the Provincial Freeman if even the famous Frederick Douglass was struggling to make ends meet:

> A few good men and women, here and there, among them, act nobly, but their subscriptions cannot support and pay the printer. The publisher is then obliged to reduce his sheet

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[51] Provincial Freeman, 25 November 1856. Emphasis included.

> within the limits of his income if a careful person, and bear up as best he can with complaints that may arise because of the same, conscious as he is of the honesty of his course in that particular. The Frederick Douglass' Paper has been long in operation in the United States, and supported comparatively, only, by colored people, white men being its greatest help, and yet, in order to make its accustomed visits, it is absolutely necessary to reduce; what must be the condition of a "weakling" like the Freeman, think you gentle reader, young as it is in years, and feeble in support in comparison? ready to "keel" over at every breath because of the non-substantials of which the older paper in the States so forcibly complains?[52]

The Freeman tottered on the brink of disaster. In February 1857, after nearly three years of publication, the editors made a desperate appeal through a circular that was printed on the Freeman's press and distributed in Chatham and throughout Canada and the United States. The message was simple; if the Freeman did not receive an infusion of funds, it would not survive:

> We have never appealed to you before, as we had hoped by severe self-denial and untiring exertions, to succeed without aid except from the sale of the papers, but, after having labored long and being obliged to support ourselves by *other* means (for not one cent do we realize toward support from the papers as yet), the indifference of many indebted to us, and the little sympathy from friends of the slave arising from non-acquaintance with our enterprise, make our efforts to meet our liabilities impossible as yet.[53]

The circular was followed by an editorial in the Freeman titled "Pay us what you Owe," repeating the all-too-familiar complaint about tardy or non-existent payment for subscriptions. Shadd Cary reported that bills totaling hundreds of dollars had been mailed out, but only one had been paid. In particular, she and her colleagues were finding it difficult to collect from out-of-town subscribers. She criticized the culprits, saying that while patrons were unwilling to pay for the newspaper, they spent their money on the latest clothing fashions. She also accused the guilty parties with ignoring their bills because the Freeman was owned by fellow blacks:

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[52] Provincial Freeman, 7 February 1857.

[53] Mary A. S. Cary, H. F. Douglass, and I. D. Shadd, "Slavery and Humanity," circular published by the Provincial Freeman, February 1857. Mary Ann Shadd Cary Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

> Many white men say the Freeman is in a "great hurry" for pay--many colored men think "they are only colored people," and not being *afraid* of one another, we can wait until white creditors are paid. Yes, colored people will generally pay white men *first*.[54]

Subscribers must have balked at the earlier plan to force payment on delivery of the newspaper. And despite the insulting tone of her accusations, Shadd Cary was probably right that paying the Freeman was the last priority for many subscribers. In an earlier editorial, she suggested that the legacy of slavery had handicapped black Canadians in their efforts to become self-sufficient. That legacy would explain blacks' fear of white merchants and their overall vulnerable position. Also, for many fugitive slaves as well as freeborn blacks, the lack of educational opportunity meant that a tradition of newspaper readership in their families or communities was lacking. Thus, while the Freeman spoke on their behalf, a newspaper was a luxury many could ill-afford.

Despite the depressing finances, the editors did not entirely give up. In February the Freeman finally acquired some of the government support it had been seeking when the paper began publishing the minutes of the Chatham Town Council as the official town printer. Surprisingly, the Provincial Freeman carried on in this manner for another three years; always desperate for funds, sometimes stopping publication, but somehow managing to recover for yet a few more issues. The final extant copy of the paper is dated June 1859, but advertisements for the Freeman appeared in the New York-based Weekly Anglo-African until the summer of 1860. Clearly, it was a considerable feat just to publish a newspaper under the extreme circumstances that Mary Ann Shadd Cary and her contemporaries encountered.

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[54] Provincial Freeman, 28 February 1857.

Despite its small size and checkered history, the Provincial Freeman's influence was substantial. It provided badly needed information to Canada's black immigrants that helped them settle and become acquainted with their new homeland. It rallied support for the anti-slavery movement in the United States, and kept its readers informed about the activities of the Underground Railroad. The Freeman was also a model for the illiterate fugitive population; it extolled the virtues of education for the advancement of the race and demonstrated that blacks could be engaged in intellectual pursuits. Ultimately, it left a legacy for which Mary Ann Shadd Cary, her family, and friends, could be proud.

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Visual Communication Division

The Power of Editorial and Historical Context: A Photo History Interprets World War II for Americans

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Abstract

A photo history published for a popular audience can preserve not only visual moments but also the historical perspectives and cultural values of a particular time.

Photos are remarkable for catching and recording moments in history. As a visual society we depend on them to show us and remind us and teach us about events. However, photos are frequently not mere records; they also can be works of art.

Similarly, histories are written to preserve and record events. Histories also interpret those events, and, as scholars point out, their perspectives on the past are conditioned by the values of the culture in which they are prepared.

In 1950 the editors of Life magazine produced the book Life's Picture History of World War II, a collection of 1,000 photos billed as a "military history" of the war. At that time, Life was one of the most accepted and widely read magazines in the United States, with a circulation of more than five million and an estimated pass-around readership of five people per copy.

This paper is a close examination of that book to learn not only what it teaches about the past, but also how it does it -- how photographs are used to project a certain ideology about the war. The focus is on selection of photos, their size and position in layouts and their sequencing. To more firmly define the particular perspective of the book, it is contrasted with two later books -- the 1977 Time-Life publication Life Goes To War: A Picture History of World War II, and the 1984 Studs Terkel book "The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two.

In 1950 a collection of photographs titled Life's Picture History of World War II was published by Time Inc. Of the nearly 1,000 images from the war which were included, the closing sequence of photographs is among the most powerful in the book.

The sequence opens with a color photograph of a mushroom cloud from an atomic bomb test explosion at Bikini in 1946. In the next shot the cloud develops and spreads like a fluffy, golden doughnut. The third photograph, also in color, shows the devastation wrought at ground level by such a blast; whether the scene is at Hiroshima or Nagasaki is not specified. Opposite it in black and white is the scene aboard the U.S. battleship Missouri lying in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945, for the formal surrender of the Japanese which ended World War II. And last — the final shot in the book — is a black and white closeup of the head and shoulders of an American G.I. The camera is positioned below him looking up into a face which is worn but defiant and unarguably tough (358). (See Figure 1.)

Through their arrangement these photographs tell a story which begins with the magnificent clouds rolling back from an exploded bomb. It is breathtaking and beautiful seen from a safe distance. But up close, down on the ground, the effect is horrible; it is this devastation which led to the war's resolution, and left America as the ascendent power in the world. By virtue of technological knowhow and ingenuity, Americans stepped into a new world role.

Each of these five photographs, if presented standing alone, would deliver its own message, but presented together in this sequence, their meanings are altered by degrees and arranged to create a certain impact. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

Alan Trachtenberg, writing in Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (1989), says that "to serve as history, facts must be made intelligible, must be given an order and a meaning which does not crush their autonomy as facts" (xiv). That is what has been done with these photographs and the other images in this book. To paraphrase Trachtenberg, photographs can and do serve as history individually or as a group; however, whatever each may convey alone, it can be given a certain and perhaps different meaning and interpretation by its placement in a particular sequence or arrangement. In effect it can be set into a frame for viewing.

This frame for viewing, or arrangement of the photographs, represents the perspective taken on history by those individuals making the decisions about selecting and arranging the images — that is, the editors. And that perspective represents as well the influences of a specific historical and cultural context. Trachtenberg says that in a photo history such as this one, we should look for the "intelligible view of society implicit in the internal dialogue of images and text, and their external dialogue with their times" (xv).

Trachtenberg suggests that reading American photographs is a way of reading the past. If so, then what is the "intelligible view of society" as presented in this highly popular collection of World War II photographs and text, and how do we place it in a historical and cultural context? The goal is to identify and examine the attitudes and beliefs which formed Americans' understanding of and response to the international crises that followed in the wake of World War II, as expressed in a book identified with one of the nation's most popular and influential magazines ever.

There are two fundamental questions:

(1) What was the historical and editorial context surrounding the production of the book? Answering this question will involve exploring the significance of the book at the time of its publication, as well as the significance of Life magazine itself. It will involve a consideration of Time Inc. publisher Henry R. Luce and his involvement with American foreign policy. And it must note the early years of the Cold War and Americans' understanding of their new world role.

(2) What message do the photographs themselves suggest through their content, arrangement and positioning? Does the text support this message? Essentially this is Trachtenberg's charge: To look for the "intelligible view of society implicit in the internal dialogue of images and text, and their external dialogue with their times."

Such an analysis of photographs involves consideration of how they work both representationally and symbolically; that is, how the literal content of a photo serves as a symbol in Americans' consciousness. The sequencing of photos as well as their sizing and arrangement is critical because it can shape the meaning and associations that the viewer will have to the subject. The message of the photographs, therefore, will be analyzed by answering five questions:

(1) What is the sequencing and positioning of images?

(2) What is the depiction of the Axis powers?

(3) What is the depiction of the Allies?

(4) What is the depiction of the U.S. role?

(5) What is the depiction of human destruction and death in war?

This paper addresses first the historical and editorial context in which the book was published, and then the photographs themselves and the text.

Context for publication of the book

The significance of Life's Picture History of World War II in American life is directly linked to the role and significance of Life magazine itself during those years. The magazine was begun in 1936 as the first periodical organized around photographs. Dora Jane Hamblin in her book That Was the Life notes that the 13 1/2-by-21-inch size magazine, opened out flat, presented a display space larger than many of today's TV sets, and "in pretelevision 1936 (it was) a revelation." The publication was immediately popular, completely selling out the first issue (18-19).

Life was five years old when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, which in the life cycle of a magazine is a time when it is often still struggling for a market and an identity. Circulation figures during the war are difficult to recover; however, Hamblin notes that during those years Life's circulation "went up and up . . . and kept on rising at its end." By 1950 Life's circulation had reached nearly 5.5 million, with a claimed pass-around readership of five people per copy (34).[1] Undoubtedly, as Hamblin claims, Life was a critical source for Americans in learning about the war. Families must have eagerly scanned the war photographs published there for a glimpse of a loved one, much as 20 and 30 years later families scanned televised news footage of the Vietnam War (48-49, 234).

The book itself followed the general format of the magazine in size, in paper quality, and in principles of photo display — played large and accompanied by brief captions, with the exception of full-page commentaries at the opening of each section. Offered in two editions — regular for $10 and deluxe for $12 — the book displayed nearly 1,000 photos on 368 pages, accompanied by a 75,000-word text written by John Dos Passos and Time correspondent Robert Sherrod. The selection was made from Life's morgue of 3 million shots and from other sources such as the armed services, captured "enemy" files, press associations and private owners. Most were black and white, though some color shots (and a few paintings) were included. One-fourth of them had appeared previously in the magazine. Orders for half a million copies of the book were placed in advance of publication, a fact which Time referred to as "a publishing phenomenon but no great surprise." Reviews were basically favorable, ranging from the New Republic's verdict of "vivid, if surface, history," to the New York Herald Tribune Book Review's laudatory "magnificent record, edited with intelligence and presented with skill and accuracy."[2]

The purpose of the book was threefold. As stated in the Preface, titled "A Salute," the primary goal was to honor all those who fought honorably in the war, including Americans, their Allies and their enemies — "however wickedly misled." The editors, second, wanted to provide, not a comprehensive history of the war, but rather a military history; they were devoted to recording the tremendous feat of winning the war which preserved the "possibility of decent civilization." And third, the book saluted the "gallant band of journalists in general and our own photographers and reporters in particular" who contributed to the coverage of the war. Of the more than 100 Life and Time correspondents who helped make this record, some were wounded or imprisoned by Axis forces and a few were killed (v, vi).

The head of Time Inc. in those years — and "chief editor" of all its publications — was Henry R. Luce. His name is noted only once in the book — as co-writer of the preface; undoubtedly he and his views on America and its world role were factors in shaping Life's look at World War II. Two points about Luce are important here; first, his patriotism and outspoken opinions about the U.S. in international affairs, and second, his editorial style.

Luce, a fervent internationalist, firmly believed the U.S. had a historical mission in the world in establishing freedom. After 1946, that specifically meant winning the Cold War. (It should be noted that he was not a supporter of Senator Joseph McCarthy.) A 1940 speech by Luce called "The American Century" was widely misinterpreted, says one associate, as advocating a new American imperialism. Rather, the meaning was that Luce, who had a profound attachment to China and the Orient, believed the U.S. was ideally placed in time, space and inheritance to come up with answers to the tremendous differences between East and West (Jessup, 15-17, 21; Henry R. Luce, 29).

Luce was a business leader who was deeply involved in American politics; he frequently met with political leaders such as President Franklin Roosevelt, and during the 1952 presidential campaign even loaned Dwight Eisenhower two top Time Inc. men as speechwriters. In addition, his second wife Care Boothe Brokaw (married in 1935) was also politically active, having represented Connecticut in Congress and served as U.S. Ambassador to Italy (Swanberg 193-94, 338). According to one associate, he believed the press was "an essential organ of self-government in fully reporting public affairs" — or at least according to the way he saw them. After 1942 when Life launched its editorial page, his political views became overtly and obviously reflected in his magazines (Jessup 18, 28; also Swanberg 179).

Theodore H. White, one of America's best-known reporters and political writers, in his autobiographical In Search of History (1978), wrote of Luce's manipulation of White's dispatches from China during 1944 and 1945 as a correspondent for Time. No matter what White wrote of his observations of the struggle between the Nationalist and the Communist Chinese, if it was critical of the Nationalists, it was rewritten to reflect Luce's "violently pro-Chiang K'ai-Shek" views. According to White, Luce "was conscious of his power as few press lords are today. He was responsible to his balance sheet and conscience alone, thumbing his nose at . . . anyone who stood between him and the view of reality he expected his magazines to deliver." White disagreed not only with Luce's position on China, but also with his stance that Time Inc.'s magazines were his instruments for presenting the truth as he (Luce) saw it (271-74).

In addition to White's testimony, Swanberg's biography of Luce (Luce and His Empire, 1972) relates numerous examples of Luce doing just that. Undoubtedly, a man with such strength of personality and tightly-held opinions as Luce would exercise all means at his disposal to express his beliefs. Therefore, one would definitely expect to see Luce's ideology in the pages of the book published by his own company, and with a preface over his own name.

The national and historical context into which Time Inc. delivered Life's Picture History of World War II in 1950 was one distinguished (1) by a new role for the U.S. in the world order and, (2) a deepening division between the East and West's economic and political perspectives, and between Soviet Russia and the U.S. Hoyt Purvis, a longtime aide to Senator William Fulbright and director of the Fulbright Institute of International Relations, and an authority on the origins of the Cold War, states that in the years following the close of World War II there was a redefining and repositioning of nations on the world scene which left the U.S. taking on heavy new responsibilities not only for the welfare for countries devastated by war, but also for containing the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet Union.[3]

By the time Life's Picture History of World War II was published, Americans had seen the opening of the Cold War, their country stepping in to fill a world power vacuum left by a war-torn Britain, and a new generalized U.S. international policy of unilateral action despite the formation of the United Nations. Before 1950 Americans had run the Berlin Airlift of 1949 (At its peak, planes loaded with supplies landed in West Berlin every one to two minutes.), and adopted the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. These examples of the U.S. effort in rebuilding Europe, guaranteeing its defense, and containing Soviet Union expansion underscored the nation's technological superiority and new world power role.

The Photographs and Text

The photographs in Life's Picture History of World War II were analyzed according to five categories — (1) their sequencing and arrangement; (2) depiction of the Axis forces; (3) depiction of the Allies; (4) depiction of U.S. forces, and (5) depiction of human suffering and death in war.

Sequencing and Arrangement. The ordering of photographs in a sequence for a book, as in the organization of material for any presentation, forms a significant part of the message. The beginning — the opening image — is always a critical consideration. It sets the tone for what follows and indicates what the author or editor considers to be important. In this book there are 12 sections, each opened by a full-page black and white photo which establishes the direction of the content of that chapter. Of special significance is the first photograph in the book for it sets a mood for the book, much as does the overture for an opera.

The overture for this book would have to be Wagner, for the first image is a famous one. It is Hitler addressing his troops at Nuremberg, rows and rows of thousands of Nazi soldiers. With the backs of their helmeted heads to the camera, they stand like "still and steely . . . cars in a parking lot." All the lines in the photo converge on Hitler in the far distance. It is a chilling image of anonymous, automaton-like, overwhelming power. The photo suggests the threat of the Nazi's apparently infinite strength and invincibility (2). (See Figure 2.)

And indeed the photos which follow this opening shot show this power at work, rolling through Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands and France, using ships, Stuka dive bombers and Panzer divisions. The final two images in this section mark a goal accomplished — Nazi troopers in heavy boots marching through the Arc de Triomphe and Hitler, dressed in white, contemplating Napoleon's tomb (20). The emphasis is on the lightning quickness and ease with which the Nazis moved through Europe, overwhelming all resistance with their might.

Other sequences in the book build impressions just as effectively. For example, the section on the "Siege of Britain" opens with a shot of St. Paul's Cathedral through hazy skies and across the roofs of a darkened London. (See Figure 3.) The city is under fire, but as the photographs show, the British are reacting with ingenuity and courage. In the final photograph in the section, Winston Churchill is seen sitting on a bench reading a newspaper. The overall effect is of gritty determination underscored by the image of Churchill who symbolized the indomitable English spirit. In this book no other nation receives such admiring treatment. (And it should be noted that Henry Luce was a close personal friend of Churchill.)[4]

The ordering of images in the book as a whole presents a narrative of the progress of the war. But as events unfold through the photographs, an impression builds as well. At first this message is of inevitable Nazi victory, as the defenses of Europe and Great Britain appear inadequate. When the U.S. is brought into the picture through Lend-Lease and the

1941 bombing of Pearl Harbor, and the Japanese and the war in the Pacific are introduced, however, a turning point is reached. Once the U.S. enters the war, the story becomes one of American power and know-how. There are photos of rapid American mobilization, the effort to fly "the Hump" over the Himalayas, the building of the Ledo road in Burma and China — "an engineering masterpiece" — and the channel-dredging work of the Seabees in the Pacific (78-85, 88, 178-179, 267-271, 180, 222-223). The focus shifts from Nazi power to American might and ingenuity, and there is no doubt who will win.

The final sequence works in an intriguing way against the opening shot of the Nazi soldiers at Nuremberg. From an impersonal war "machine" of men so anonymous they seem like robots, the book shifts to a war machine of advanced technology, one which is _profoundly_ impersonal— dropping bombs on unseen victims from heights above the clouds. The last image, that of an American soldier, seems then to have been used as a symbol by the editors to suggest several ideas — the world's war weariness as focused in the eyes of one man, the valor of the U.S. soldier, the predominant position of the U.S. in the post-war world to come, and the changes in the nature of warfare wrought by one invention.

The Axis Powers. In depicting the Axis powers the book focuses specifically on the Germans and Japanese, but presents them in different ways. The Germans' apparent strength and invincibility described earlier begin to change, to wane. They become weaker, even vulnerable as the Americans enter the war and affect the conflict. At first Germans are shown impersonally, with no closeups, no shots of faces and expressions. But as the book progresses, their faces are shown; they are seen lying dead and wounded, suffering from the cold in Russia, and taken prisoner. In fact late in the war Germany's situation had bacome so dire that young boys were conscripted to serve (114-115, 168, 291, 310, 311, 317). The impression in these pages is almost sympathetic — sympathy not for Nazi Germany, but for the individual soldier who is, after all, a human being.

The Japanese, however, are never treated with any degree of sympathy. In captions they are referred to throughout as "Japs," a term used as negative and diminishing. The first photo of any Japanese is in great contrast to the opening shot of the Nazis. A group of Japanese soldiers with hands and swords upraised appears joyous, victorious, celebrating. Their faces can be seen; two men with clearly Oriental features and round glasses seem to draw attention especially. (See Figure 4.) The impact of the photo is increased by its placement in the book directly following the shots of bombing and devastation at Pearl Harbor; the Japanese soldiers thus seem to be rejoicing in their successful raid. Throughout the book, they are presented as unfeeling and ruthless, committing atrocities, bayonetting dead bodies, committing hari-kiri, carrying out banzai and kamakazai attacks, and prodding American soldiers in the Bataan death march (88, 92, 100-101, 219).

The Allies. The depiction of the Allies focuses mainly on the British; few shots are included of the French or the Russians. The image of the British has been discussed here, established largely through the section on the "Siege of Britain." In addition are photographs of the war in North Africa, the troops under General Sir Bernard Montgomery and their coolness under fire. Photographs of Russians by contrast focus on their antiquated forces and equipment, such as one shot of Russian Cossacks on horseback, charging full tilt with swords upraised (64, 112).

In general the American allies are not a major part of this book, despite one reviewer's note that "Not least among the many virtues of this book is its conscientious adherence to the idea that the war was not an all-American endeavor." Rather, as another pointed out, "It is interesting to reflect that, for all its inclusiveness, the book is not the kind an Englishman would compose, and certainly it would be unacceptable in Russia."[5] The focus, quite naturally, is sharpest on the role of the U.S.

The American Role. At one point in the book John Dos Passos notes, "Hitler's faulty estimate of the Soviet Union ruined his hopes of empire; his faulty estimate of the U.S. dug his grave" (71). This attitude encapsulates the general picture of America in

Life's picture history. The quote is played against a full-page photo which is the opening image for a section titled "Arsenal of Democracy." That photo is of New York, seen, like St. Paul's in London, through a haze. But the difference is that this haze is the kind that lingers over a river before sunrise; here the skyline of New York emerges from the background, behind the smokestackes of factories ranged along a curving river and train tracks. (See Figure 5.) The message is one of resource, plenty and depth. Once Americans were in the war, they went at it full force. A section titled "The Home Front" opens with a woman working in a steel plant. But the emphasis there, as in the rest of the section, is on the equipment, on production — not on people. There is some sense of the sacrifices and deprivations Americans experienced during the war, but they seem to be more inconveniences than causes for suffering (20, 266).

On the battlefronts, American soldiers were courageous, time after time assaulting beachheads, attacking under fire, and never retreating. They are shown being compassionate, caring for wounded, helping each other. But never are they depicted committing any sort of atrocity against "enemy" soldiers or civilians. American ingenuity and know-how, as described earlier, appear as sub-themes in this book, as Americans are shown solving the unsolvable and doing the "un-doable" (178-180, 222-224, 330, 349). Yes, America worked with Allies in this war, but it was primarily an American victory — at least according to Life — and one that would not have been possible without America's intervention.

Death and Destruction. Today American society has been conditioned by Vietnam, the first televised war, and perhaps also by the TV series M.A.S.H. which dealt with the lives of U.S. Army doctors during the Korean conflict. Americans know that war results in blood and horrendous injuries and death. Undoubtedly, American readers in the 1950s knew all this, too, but the Life book does not force it before their eyes. There are deaths and injuries in these pages, but in large measure the book is not about these horrors and does not dwell on them. Out of nearly 1,000 images in the book, only about 20 or 30 show dead or wounded. Of those 20 or 30, few are shocking, and very few are of Americans.

In her book That Was the Life Hamblin briefly discusses the photo which was one of the single most dramatic shots published during the war. Taken by George Strock in 1943 at Maggot Beach near Buna, New Guinea, the photo shows in the foreground a dead American soldier face down in the sand; behind him lie two other Americans, one on his back with arms outstretched in death. Neither faces nor wounds can be seen. But the photo shocked Americans when it was published because it was one of the first photos of American war dead to be released by the Defense Department.[6] (See Figure 6.) With the waves rolling casually in toward the bodies, it is a scene of chilling quietness, more arresting than any richer in blood or gore.

Generally, however, the photos in the Life book which do show such horrors are small, less than one-fourth page in size and are not closeup images of individuals. The most gruesome shots are of wounded and dead Japanese; American dead are rarely seen clearly and are not identifiable. Each is a symbol for American sacrifice; not an individual with a name and a personal history. Overall, such personal suffering is regarded from a respectful and almost impassive distancing; bombs fall, shells strike and cities are destroyed. Most destruction is of property — of buildings, not people. In fact the whole tenor of the book is to put people at arm's length, not to be intimate with them as subjects. Of all the shots in the book, for example, fewer than 50 offer clear, close views of faces. Instead, the focus is on weaponry — on planes, ships, tanks.

One of the stated purposes of this book was to provide a military history of the war. Whether or not it achieved this purpose has to do with what a military history is and if it met that definition. Undoubtedly, a military history must involve discussion of strategy, of movements of troops, of battles, the records of leaders and their goals, subtle shifts in momentum, and above all, statistics, but not of individuals. These things are not a part of this book. What is here instead is a history of combat, of the confrontation of opposing sides and the results as seen in devastation of property and sometimes people. It is a popular history as opposed to an academic one, an approach taken no doubt because of the book's audience. Rather than a technical treatise, this audience wanted a visual "scrapbook," photos which would remind them of probably the most significant event in the lives of their generation. Thus it is a history composed of images and impressions rather than of figures and troop movements. And to call it a military history is to overstate the reach of the product.

The Text. Indeed, the book is more nearly a dedication to America and to the American fighting man. Luce, in his co-written preface, salutes the photographers and reporters who produced the material used in the book. But the book itself is more a salute to American military prowess and an underscoring of American responsibility in the world. This theme, which, as has been noted, is evident in the photographs, is repeated in the accompanying text. Although this text consists primarily of captions for the photos, there are 12 one-page essays bylined by John Dos Passos — and a thirteenth unsigned essay — which introduce each section of the book and then wrap it up in an Epilogue.

In his essays Dos Passos presents the war as the context for the emergence of the U.S. as a major world actor. He sees Europe as old, tired, antiquated, inadequate, and infiltrated by Communists. The view of the Allies is framed by his admiration of the British and Winston Churchill — who appears in the book five more times than does Roosevelt. In fact one section introduction is built around quotes from Churchill speeches. The close relationship between the U.S. and Britain is symbolized by repeated references to the compatibility of the leaders of the two countries. For example, Dos Passos writes, "Roosevelt and Churchill were working together but at a distance. They were men of bouyant spirits with a taste for world politics and the resounding phrase. They got along." He adds further, "When Churchill got the news that we were in all the way he took a deep breath of relief; from that moment he was certain of victory" (71, 3, 27).

Other Allies were not as affectionately presented. The Russians, for example, are described as being difficult to deal with, as feeling the growth of their own power. Dos Passos' touch is light, however, in discussing the Russians. He is carefully not over-critical. They are not to be trusted, but they are, after all, Allies (183).

The Axis powers, especially Germany and Japan, lack the morality and integrity of the Allies (specifically the Americans and the British) and weaken increasingly as the U.S. grows stronger and more able. As Dos Passos says of the German pilots, "The Luftwaffe had the weight of numbers, but the R.A.F. had on its side . . . a dash and initiative that the Germans for all their skill and discipline just did not have." The Japanese were "people living off the main paths of history"; and by the end of the war American pilots were knocking off Japanese pilots with ease. At times the book even expresses a gruesome humor at the expense of the Axis, as in one caption accompanying a photograph of two dead men and a jeep: "In Egypt these two Germans finally found their place in the sun" (27, 89, 114, 323).

Dos Passos presents a heroic view of Americans. The U.S. is always spoken of in terms of strength. Though reluctant to enter the war, Americans quickly and efficiently mobilized their civilian industries into the effort and prevailed. Americans had proved their national competence through their performance in this war (71, 359).

The text ends, as do the photographs, on a note of warning and quiet concern about the future. As Dos Passos writes, the end of the war brought no peace, undoubtedly a reference to the world's almost immediate slide into the Cold War. The book then concludes with the Eiplogue's ultimatum: "We learned we must assume world responsibility or perish off the earth, and that if we went down, the concept of freedom on which civilization in the West was built would go down with us. We learned that for a people as for a man the road to greatness is very hard" (359).

Conclusion

This research grew out of a fascination with the book Life's Picture History of World War II and its portrayal of the U.S. role in that tragic conflict. Its goal has been to analyze the book in order to articulate "the intelligible view of society implicit in the internal dialogue of images and text, and their external dialogue with their times."

The theoretical perspective supporting this research has been that we must accept any and all histories as framing the past in terms of the needs and perspectives of the present. A book of photographs offers an opportunity to study as well how photographs can be used to present history. This book offers a special opportunity because it was an offshoot of a highly popular and successful magazine of reporting through photographs, and because it appeared before television took the American homefront to battlefields to show what modern war was really like.

The photographs were analyzed according to five questions concerning the sequencing and positioning of images, the depiction of the Axis powers, the depiction of the Allies, the depiction of the U.S. role and the depiction of human destruction and death in war. The analysis underscored national convictions of U.S. superiority over the rest of the world (including its allies), and of the fresh, new hope it offered over the worn-out decrepitude of Europe. Americans believed that the nation had a pivotal role in winning the war, and that it was American technological know-how and initiative that saved the West and the Allies.

A comparison of the results of this analysis with the historical and editorial context for the book's presentation reveal the roots of the book's message. This U.S. superiority was already being challenged by a deepening and chilling Cold War with Russia; in addition, the U.S. had used the atomic bomb in the war to wipe out two Japanese cities. The nation needed to be reminded of its role in the world, its responsibility, its mission. Who was better positioned to do this than Henry R. Luce? He held firm convictions himself about America's world role — indeed, its mission — and as head of an important publishing corporation, as well as the son of Presbyterian missionaries, Luce was very willing to use his publications to spread that word.

In answering the two major questions posed here — what was the historical and editorial context for the book, and what was its message — this paper has demonstrated the relationship between the presentation of a "story" about history and the ideological perspectives of the tellers of that story and the times in which they live.

The message of the book was clear: there were powers on earth which would destroy the idea of freedom and the integrity of the individual. World War II represented a major effort by those powers to take control by force. The U.S. alone in the world had the strength to overcome these powers, and it drew that strength from its devotion to a democratic system. The result was that Roosevelt and Churchill defeated Hitler. American fighting men defeated the Nazis and Japs. Individualism and democracy defeated faceless anonymity and totalitarianism. The war was over but the battle for freedom continued. Americans had a mission in that battle, and that was to defend freedom and secure it for all the world.

Historically, this message was shaped by the development of the Cold War in the years immediately following World War II, the U.S. opposition to Communism, especially as symbolized by Stalin and the Soviet Union, and the introduction of the atomic bomb as a device which could destroy the world. Editorially, it was formed by Henry Luce's beliefs about the U.S. and its world role. This son of Presbyterian missionaries in China saw America as the having a mission itself, and that charge was to preserve and extend democracy and the right to individual freedom throughout the world.

Thus, this book is a call to ideological arms issued by Luce to Americans who must acknowledge their mission in the world. The U.S. was an important world actor, and could not retreat into isolationism as it had after World War I.

It is no coincidence that the opening image contrasts so strongly with the closing image: Hitler addressing his thousands of steel-helmeted, robot-like soldiers at Nuremburg versus the one American soldier — the anonymous unthinking mass versus the individual; absolute control versus independence and freedom. Luce and Time Inc., thus, used a book about the past to issue an ultimatum to Americans about the future.

Notes

[1] The Ayer's Directory of Periodicals gives circulation figures for Life in 1946 as 3,865,241 and in 1950 as 5,341,626. Hamblin claims that at its peak, the magazine sold 8 million copies a week in the U.S. and Canada and almost another million abroad. By 1956 "the magazine had 251 editorial staffers, 28 bureaus around the world, 317 'stringers' . . . and three editions."

[2] Of five reviews of the book in various periodicals, four are referred to here — "A War Ago," by John T. Winterich writing for The Saturday Review of Literature, November 4, 1950, pp. 16-17; "The Embattled Moment," in Time, October 23, 1950, p. 107; a review in The New Republic, December 4, 1950, p. 21; and "World War II in Pictures: Murder and Misery, Drama and Devastation," in the New York Herald Tribune Book Review, October 22, 1950, p. 5.

[3] The references here are taken from galley proofs of Professor Purvis's book which will be published in 1992. The relevant sections are Galleys 207-213. Thanks are due to Professor Purvis for allowing the use of this material.

[4] According to Dora Jane Hamblin in That Was the Life (24), Luce used this friendship to secure for the magazine the right to print excerpts from Churchill's war memoirs, published intermittently in the magazine from 1948 until 1953 and later collected into another Life book on the war.

[5] The two reviewers who are quoted here are, first, Winterich from The Saturday Review of Literature, and then a review in The New Yorker, November 4, 1950, p. 110.

[6] The photo from Buna Beach appears on page 207 of Life's Picture History of World War II. The explanation of its significance comes from Hamblin in That Was the Life, pp. 33-34.

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FIGURES

Figure 1. American soldier

Figure 2. Nazi troops at Nuremberg

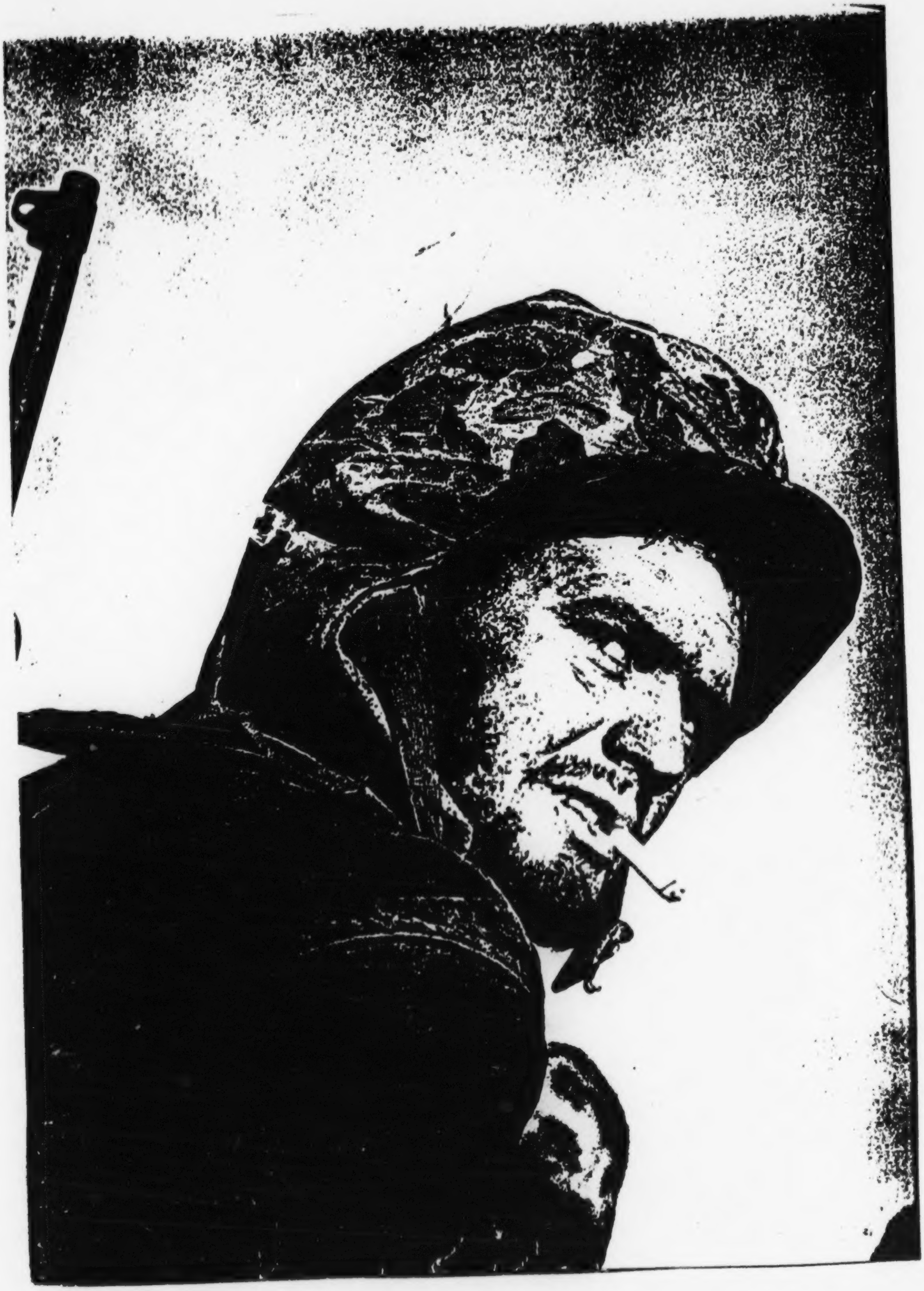
Figure 3. St. Paul's Cathedral

Figure 4. Japanese soldiers

Figure 5. New York City

Figure 6. American dead on Buna Beach

Figure 1.



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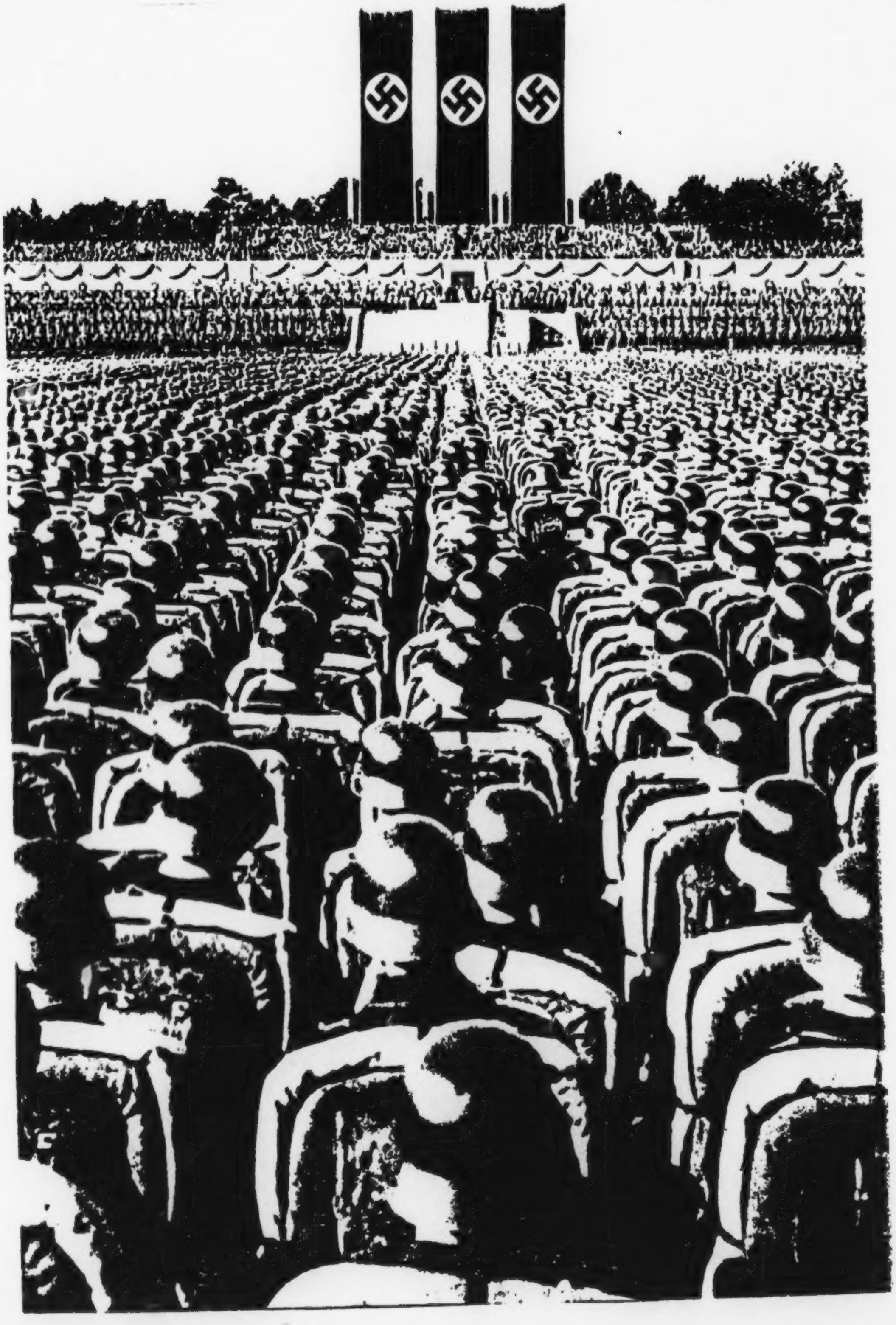

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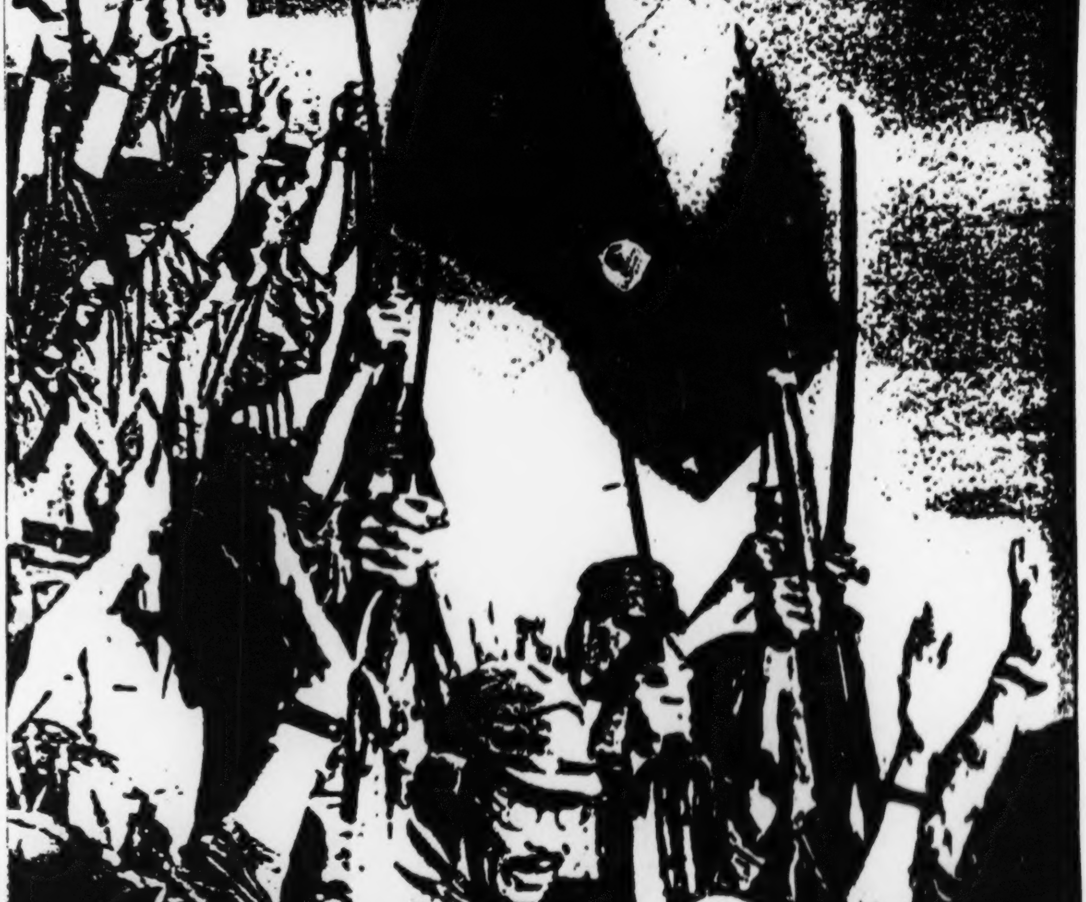

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Figure 5.

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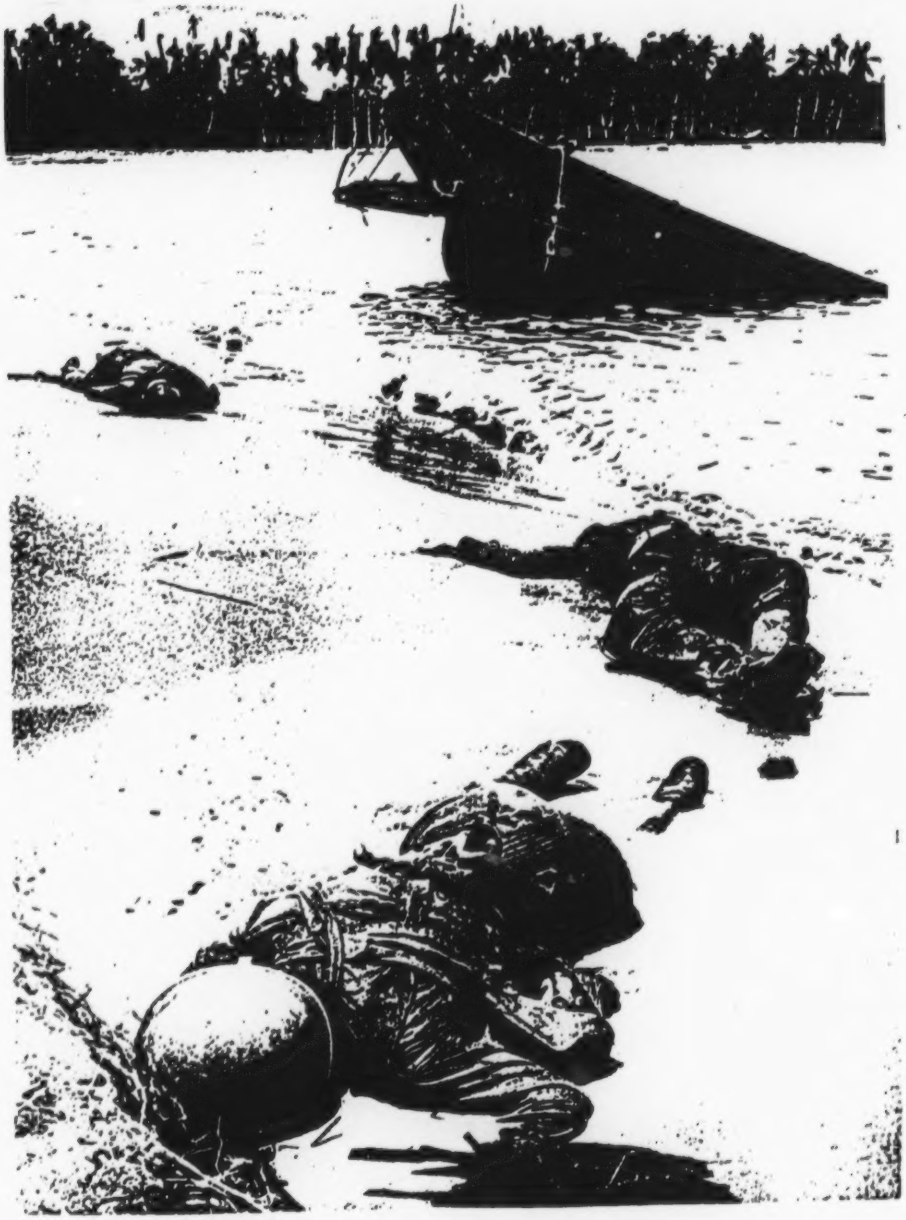

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"A SQUARE DEAL FOR THE PUEBLOS"?

The 1920s Press Covers an Indian Controversy

A Paper Presented to the Minorities and Communication Division,
AEJMC

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"A SQUARE DEAL FOR THE PUEBLOS"?

The 1920s Press Covers an Indian Controversy

Abstract - 75 words

This paper investigates press coverage of the controversy surrounding the Bursum bill in 1922-1923, a measure which would have deprived Pueblo Indians in New Mexico of much of their irrigated land. A publicity campaign mounted by white reformers led to widespread coverage of the matter and succeeded in stopping the bill. The reformers advocated the philosophy of cultural pluralism in opposition to the government's policies of forced assimilation. The paper explores images of Indians contained in the articles and the framing of the stories by the press.

"A SQUARE DEAL FOR THE PUEBLOS"?

The 1920s Press Covers an Indian Controversy

INTRODUCTION. According to popular mythology and public policy dating from the founding of the nation, American Indians were a "vanishing race"[1] that would sooner or later either succumb or be assimilated into Euro-American society. That is, the surviving remnants of the tribes that had been decimated by European diseases, defeated in military combat, and forcibly removed from their ancestral lands would be "civilized" by being taught "American" (i.e., Protestant Christian) values such as thrift, and individual ownership, especially of land. The eventual outcome was to be the elimination of Indian cultures and the absorption of Indians into Euro-American society. These policies, which reduced Indian land holdings from 139 million acres in 1887 to 47 million acres in 1930 and were similarly destructive of tribal cultures, languages and religious practices, were "all mantled over by the concept of racial inferiority and racial doom," according to John Collier, the reformer and activist who later became head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Roosevelt administration.[2]

By the early part of the 20th century, the official view of forced assimilation was being challenged by those such as Collier who advocated the philosophy of cultural pluralism, a radically different view of Indians and their place in society that asserted that Indian cultures were valuable and should be preserved.[3] This view not only sought to protect Indian cultures and religions but also saw in the communal institutions, particularly of the Pueblo Indians, "a model for reforming society at large."[4]

This clash of philosophies was played out in the press in late 1922 and early 1923 because of a crisis involving the 8,000 to 9,000 Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and the efforts of a group of white reformers to aid their cause. These reformers asserted not only that the Indians were being deprived of their lands but also that their traditional cultures were in danger of extinction. Further, they argued that these cultures were intrinsically valuable and worthy of preservation. This was perhaps one of the first widespread public attempts to use the philosophy of cultural pluralism to change public policy.

The controversy initially centered around a bill concerning Indian lands in New Mexico. In July of 1922 Sen. Holm Olaf Bursum, Republican of New Mexico, acting on behalf of his political ally, Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall, introduced a bill in the Senate that would have settled disputed land claims by white Spanish-American settlers on Pueblo Indian lands by legalizing almost all non-Indian claims. Indian claims to the land stemmed from 35 Spanish land grants to the tribes that were confirmed by Congress when the lands came under American rule after the Mexican War of 1848, though Indian ability to sell the land to non-Indians was thrown into question after New Mexico became a state. Some of the white settlers were descendants of those who had purchased land from the Indians in good faith; others were squatters. While the land claims represented only about 10 percent of the Indians' lands, they were a much larger portion of the irrigated acreage. For example, one pueblo, San Juan, had lost the use of 3,500 of its 4,000 irrigated acres to the whites. In dry New Mexico, water was the key to survival.[5] One effect of this measure, supporters of the Indians pointed out, would be to deprive Indians of large portions of the land that was essential to their survival. The bill would also destroy the Pueblos' self-government by assigning internal disputes to the jurisdiction of federal courts, they contended.[6]

White supporters of the Pueblo Indians mounted an intensive campaign to prevent enactment of the Bursum bill and to publicize the destruction of the tribes they were certain would follow if it became law. Spearheading the campaign were Stella Atwood, chairwoman of the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Collier, and others. Eventually several of the artists and writers who had gathered in Santa Fe and Taos after World War I added their voices.[7] Though the Senate originally passed the Bursum bill without debate as an "administrative measure," it was recalled after the storm of controversy blew up. Both houses of Congress then had hearings on alternative ways to settle the Pueblo land dispute, effectively stopping passage of the Bursum measure. Eventually, in 1924, a compromise bill was passed.[8]

The controversy over the Bursum bill was widely reported in the press, largely through the efforts of the Indians' supporters.[9] It was so widely reported, in fact, that one newspaper writer commented that "the Pueblos have received more attention in the press than any other Indian tribe in the past fifty years."[10]

RESEARCH QUESTIONS. Analysis of the press coverage of the Bursum bill controversy is an opportunity to examine the portrayal of Indians in the press at a critical juncture in the history of their relations with the American government and Euro-American society. Articles about the Bursum Bill controversy will be viewed from two main perspectives. First, the images of Indians they present will be examined in relationship to the popular depictions of Indians. This examination will seek to answer the question of whether and how the idea of cultural pluralism was reflected in the press and whether that philosophy was at odds with the prevailing popular images of Indians. Second, the stories will be scrutinized for what they say about the press: its framing of stories and definitions of news; the extent to which it passively repeated information provided by interest groups or used initiative and enterprise to seek out information. It will seek to answer the question of whether the news process itself worked against balanced and accurate treatment of those outside the mainstream.

Others have commented on images of Indians conveyed by popular culture such as motion pictures, radio and television, by literature and even by white historians.[11] There has been, however, little systematic examination of the portrayal of Indians in the news media, particularly in the 20th century.[12] Such an examination is useful for several reasons:

First, the news media of the 1920s, as today, were generally viewed as purveyors of fact, rather than fantasy or fiction. Thus, it might be surmised, images of Indians appearing in the press were more likely to be seen by readers as accurate representations of these people than were images in literature or entertainment media.

Second, the press has traditionally been seen as the vehicle for informing the citizenry so it could make wise decisions about the course of public affairs. This was true also in the 1920s. Since government policy toward Indians has been an important public issue at many points in our national history, how the press depicted Indians at these times might well have affected how they were treated by the government. Also, the press was seen as being influential in shaping public opinion and thus, social policy. For example, in the Bursum bill controversy the reformers saw newspaper and magazine articles as an important element of their campaign to defeat the bill.[13]

Third, stories in the news media are, by their nature, fleeting in their timeliness. They are reports of events that are usually written virtually contemporaneously, without time or opportunity for reflection and refinement. Thus, by examining the images and attitudes in the news media, it is possible to discern how Indians may have been viewed popularly at a given time.

Finally, scrutiny of the way the press treated stories about Indians contributes to the history of coverage of minorities and to analysis of how the press has perceived and reacted to groups outside the ethnic mainstream.

METHOD. For this paper a variety of newspaper and magazine articles about the Bursum bill were examined. Among the newspaper articles were those from the New York *Times*, often considered the national newspaper of record; the Chicago *Tribune* and the Chicago *Daily News*, two influential Midwestern newspapers in a city visited by the Pueblo Indians as they sought support for their cause; and *Magee's Independent*, (renamed the *New Mexico State Tribune*), a weekly Democratic newspaper in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the state where the controversy arose. They were selected for their diversity of geography, size, and audience.

Magazine articles came from a variety of national magazines including *The Ladies' Home Journal, Current Opinion, The Literary Digest, The Outlook, The Nation*, and *The New Republic.* These were chosen because in the 1920s magazines often had national audiences newspapers were not able to command. Also, those involved in the controversy sought to "place," and indeed sometimes wrote, articles supporting their views in magazines.

IMAGES OF INDIANS. Whatever readers of the stories about the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico knew specifically about the Pueblos or about land titles, they doubtless had vivid--though probably erroneous--images of Indians in their heads. By the early 20th century a popular imagery of the Indian was fairly well established. Such imagery dated from the first European contact with native American people in the 15th century when Europeans tried to make sense of a group of people who had no place in their world view.[14]

The images had been elaborated on over the centuries, but their basic substance was surprisingly unchanged.

According to historian Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., three fundamental themes have persisted:

--First, conceiving of the Indian in a generic way by generalizing the traits of one tribe to all Indians, thus denying the wide variety of cultural, linguistic, and other differences among the indigenous Americans.

--Second, describing Indians in terms of white society. That is, rather than describing them as they saw themselves, they were viewed according to how they did or did not measure up to white norms.

--Third, mixing examination of Indians and their institutions with moral judgments about them. As Berkhofer put it, "Whites overwhelmingly measured the Indian as a general category against those beliefs, values, or institutions they most cherished in themselves at the time."[15]

Basically, images of the Indian embraced two contradictory conceptions: One was of the Good Indian or Noble Savage. The image of the Good Indian brought together a lengthy series of attributes, including friendliness, courtesy, handsomeness, dignity, tenderness toward family and children, independence and a "wholesome enjoyment of nature's gifts," which in some ways summarized white romantic yearnings for an idealized state of nature. Berkhofer describes this image of an Indian living "a life of liberty, simplicity and innocence."[16]

The antithesis of the Good Indian, of course, was the Bad Indian who, in the view of whites, exhibited all the uncivilized traits that embodied European fears of savagery. He was naked, lecherous, promiscuous, constantly at war. His habits and customs were seen by whites as brutal, loathsome, filthy and cruel. and he was seen as living a life of indolence, improvidence, thievery and treachery. To summarize, in Berkhofer's words, "(T)his list substituted license for liberty, a harsh lot for simplicity, and dissimulation and deceit for innocence."[17]

Pueblos as Good Indians. The newspaper and magazine coverage of the Bursum bill controversy overwhelmingly used Good Indian imagery to portray the Pueblos. For example, the image of the Noble Savage was vividly brought forth in a New York *Times* editorial calling for defeat of the Bursum bill that said such an outcome "should not require the picturesque presence in Washington of these solemn aborigines, or their laconic protest."[18]

Some stories about the Pueblos clearly reflected romanticized white images of the Good Indian, describing them positively from a white viewpoint. Attributes similar to or prized by white culture were described approvingly:

> They are brave and splendid fighters but their wars...always have been on the defensive. They are peacefully inclined....The Pueblos have always been farmers....They are monogamists....[N]owhere on earth is there to be found a finer family life than that of the average Pueblo Indian.
>
> The Pueblo's wife is the mistress of her home in every sense of that word. Reverence for their women is almost a religion with them.... [N]o white parents are more tender in the care of their children than the Pueblos. The

> discipline of these children is almost perfect, but they are never punished.
> ...[T]he Pueblo...never has wavered in his loyalty to or his confidence in the National government at Washington.... Hospitality is a law of the Pueblos....They are wonderful dancers."[19]

What is not said but is implied in this article is that Pueblos are more worthy of public support because they have white-like qualities, in contrast to other, "bad" Indians. The distinction between the "good" Pueblos and the "bad" others, particularly the once-nomadic Plains Indians, was made clearly in an article in *The Ladies' Home Journal*:

> [N]o adequate distinction...has been made by American officials...between the wandering and formerly warring tribes and these agricultural and pastoral village dwellers of the Southwest.[20]

This and other articles about the Pueblos differed from the theme identified by Berkhofer in that clear distinctions were drawn between the Pueblos and other Indian tribes. The distinctions invariably showed the Pueblos to be more worthy in white eyes than other tribes.

Part of the Good Indian imagery was the romantic notion that in some aspects of life the Pueblos were innately superior to whites. This notion was seen frequently in the Bursum bill stories. For example, the Pueblos were depicted as having an internal capacity for humor not available to whites:

> White men's eyes have no special shine, even when they laugh. But these brown eyes, flashing out of the thick haze of cornhusk cigarettes, seemed to come to a brilliant point of liquid light at the iris and in every point now was a glint of humor.[21]

The Good Indian, Pueblo style, was depicted as superior to whites in certain spiritual and psychic realms. Often writers drew distinctions between the perceived serenity of the Pueblos and the hectic pace of modern life, making it clear that the Indians' ways were preferred:

> No Pueblo housewife ever had nervous prostration. What American women...are frantically groping for in their present pursuit of one strange cult after another is...peace of mind. The Indian woman has that as a matter of course. It is the sure part of her spiritual inheritance through many centuries....[Pueblos] are inferior no doubt in mechanical industry and in money getting. In things of the spirit they are equal to the best of us and superior to most of us.[22]

Pueblos also had superior artistic gifts, according to the romantic image:

> They are artists in ceremonial dances, in music, in poetry, in pottery, in weaving, in silver-work; and in the art of pure design alone...their continuing and developing achievement is superb...far surpassing the most ambitious achievements of American artists in this direction.[23]

Collier himself, writing in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, depicted the Pueblos as superior to whites artistically:

> "Every one born in the Pueblo becomes a dancer, a singer, an actor and a producer of drama. There are times of the year when [virtually] the whole Pueblo population...is an actor in marvelous pageant-dramas, religious in character, which probably have no rivals on earth for complexity and rhythmic, dramatic power.
>
> In addition, the Pueblos are masters of pottery arts, of costuming, and of pure design."[24]

But if Pueblos were superior spiritually and artistically, there seemed to be doubt about their intellectual acuity. One story, for example, marveled that they could comprehend the intricacies of the white man's politics. When a Pueblo delegation appeared at a Senate hearing on the Bursum bill, a New York *Times* story said:

> The room was filled with picturesque Pueblos wearing their bright colored blankets, their feet shod in soft moccasins. In spite of their primitive appearance, the majority of the Pueblos were perfectly able to understand the proceedings today, and manifested the greatest interest in them.[25]

Indians as Exotic and Ancient. Basic to the whole notion of the Indian was thinking of the Indian as "other," a different, exotic, being, whose ways were the antithesis of those of whites.[26] Indians were also thought of as somehow timeless and unchanged from the time of European contact, despite abundant evidence to the contrary.[27] A version of this imagery persisted in the coverage of the Pueblo Indians' fight against the Bursum bill. In virtually all stories, they are described physically: by their physiognomy, clothing and jewelry. For example, a *New York Times Magazine* feature story about the all-Pueblo council that united the 20 Pueblo tribes to fight the Bursum bill said of the men there

> Most of them wore bright colored blankets, turquoise earrings and chains, and long hair bobbed under a bright band about the forehead.[28]

When a Pueblo delegation journeyed to Washington via Chicago and New York to rally supporters against the Bursum bill, virtually every story found included prominent and detailed descriptions of the men. The New York *Times* said "the Indians appeared in full regalia, feathered head-dress, blue and red blankets and beaded moccasins."[29] *The Outlook* said they were "wrapped in blankets and wearing feathered head-dresses."[30]

In Chicago a photo of the Indians in blankets and feathered headdresses in the Chicago *Tribune* was accompanied by an article that played up the incongruity of the blanket- and moccasin-clad Indians from the desert being feted by the cream of Chicago society:

> Waving war plumes and sipping a demi-tasse; jingling with ancestral wrought silver bangles and smart with modern 'tie clips'; wrapped in ancient tribal blankets and talking learnedly of legislation, medical surveys and agriculture, twelve Pueblo Indians yesterday invaded the Chicago Women's Club and the Cliff Dwellers.[31]

The imagery in the lead paragraph of this story not only shows Indians as exotic strangers, but also as relics of the past, seemingly misplaced in the modern world, by describing their jewelry and garments as "ancestral" and "ancient" and striking a contrast between their attire and their "talking learnedly."

The afternoon Chicago *Daily News* story also was heavy on description, and also brought forth the image of Indians as exotic and ancient, describing them as "the last remnants of the vast civilizations of the Mayas and Aztecs." It named and described several members of the delegation, including a "swarthy-cheeked, flashing-eyed brave, resplendent in his chieftain's bonnet." The article again used the image of exotic strangers out of place in the modern world:

> The moccasins, the wampum belts, the bead and deer-tooth necklaces, the Navajo blankets and ceremonial drums of tradition made an incongruous picture as the delegation dismounted from a Santa Fe train and walked through the dark areaways to waiting cabs.[32]

Such descriptions were not confined to the Pueblo Indians, however. A story about a delegation of Osage Indians who "paid their respects to the Great White Father at the White House" said

> At least half of the delegation was composed of squaws in vari-colored tribal blankets, and there were several Osage 'flappers' in the more modern styles of broadway, bobbed hair and all."[33]

While such descriptions undoubtedly had the useful journalistic purpose of making the articles more colorful and interesting, they also conveyed images of the Indians as unusual, distant and separate.

Also, the images of the Indians as remnants of ancient civilizations called forth the imagery of the "vanishing race" and at times seemed to depict them as museum exhibits, rather than members of contemporary human communities. Writing in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, Collier quoted former President Theodore Roosevelt that "[The Pueblos] are one of America's most precious possessions. Let us cherish them tenderly and proudly!"[34] And, *The Nation* described Pueblo culture as "a precious heritage and asset to the country at large," then called on readers to help save it: "Opposition to the [Bursum] bill should be nation-wide and party-free unless America wishes to see the Pueblo civilization die within the next ten years."[35] The New York *Times*, in an editorial arguing for defeat of the Bursum bill in order to rescue the Pueblos, mixed anthropological and humanitarian concerns:

> In losing these picturesque people...we should be losing a great national asset of beauty and strangeness, as expressed in their sacred observances. Still another [reason for saving the Pueblos] is their value as an archaeological asset. But the chief reason, after all, is that it would be neither decent nor civilized to let these people die.[36]

Some of the descriptions of the Pueblos may also have been inaccurate. "Powwow,"[37] for example, a term of Algonquian origin, is more often associated with Plains tribes. Wampum,[38] originally made from shells of the quahog clam and other mollusks found on Long Island, was used primarily by Iroquois and Algonquian tribes of the Northeast.[39] While it is certainly not impossible that a Pueblo Indian would possess a wampum belt in the 1920s, it is not likely. And, it is doubtful that the Pueblo culture was related to that of the Aztecs and Mayas[40] though in the 1920s this might have been thought to be the case. These erroneous descriptions, while certainly less egregious than the generic Indian images often depicted in Western movies and fiction, still indicate that in the press, as in popular culture, Indian traits were sometimes generalized and little distinction made from one aboriginal culture to another.

Imagery and Cultural Pluralism. Several articles described, sometimes in florid terms, the notion of cultural pluralism:

> [T]he Pueblo is not convinced that the white man's secret, his prescription of life, is as good as the Pueblo's prescription. Government officials, teachers, Protestant missionaries have told him that it is better, have tried to make him ashamed of his

> blanket, his bright head band, his long hair and his turquoise, his 'pagan' ceremonials; have sought to stir him to revolt against his system of government.... Yet, deaf to our propaganda and example, the Pueblo goes his own way.[41]

Often, writers depicted cultural pluralism in terms of an Indian struggle against the corrupting forces of the dominant society:

> Culturally they [Pueblos] are being hard pressed. They dare to differ. They dare to ignore our mechanical standards; they dare to maintain customs and privacies we do not understand; they dare to be simple, to be natural, to be sincere, to be religious; they dare, in New Mexico, to find happiness under a communal system of land ownership.[42]

D.H. Lawrence, whose pen had been pressed into service of the Pueblos' cause shortly after he arrived at Taos, also dealt with cultural pluralism. Suggesting it was the Indians, not the whites, who were "at the core of American life," he called on his readers to appreciate another's viewpoint:

> Let us try to adjust ourselves to the Indian outlook, to take up an old dark thread from their vision, and see again as they see, without forgetting we are ourselves.
>
> For it is a new era we have now got to cross into. And our own electric light won't show us over the gulf. We have to feel our way by the dark thread of the old vision. Before it lapses, let us take it up.[43]

Perhaps the clearest statement of the cultural pluralist view that Indian--or at least Pueblo--cultures not only had value in themselves but also held lessons for white society came in an article in *The Ladies' Home Journal* which castigated the government's assimilationist policies:

> There never has been in the Government any sympathetic understanding of the past traditions of these people,...no realization of the fact that there are in the still surviving portions of that culture lessons and examples worth while for ourselves in art, community government, devotion to religion and, above all, in the matter of serene and harmonious adjustment to environment and circumstance.[44]

FRAMING STORIES. The 1920s saw the "first generation" of press critics. Reacting to the increasing commercialization of the press, the rise of tabloid newspapers and other factors, they called on the press to be factual, fair and free from bias.[45] However, little if any of this criticism was directed at coverage of minorities in general or Indians in particular. The popular images, however distorted, seemed not to catch the attention of the critics. Journalism texts of the time do not mention coverage of minorities.[46]

One way of looking at coverage of minorities--in this case Indians--is to examine the "framing" of articles. Todd Gitlin defines frames, in the context of the mass media, this way: "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse."[47] These frames, Gitlin writes earlier, are "composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters."[48] In other words, frames impose order and make sense of the world, both for those who report on it and for their audiences. As will be seen, the articles about the Bursum bill controversy were framed in three general ways by the 1920s press.

Politics as Usual. Many stories, especially daily and weekly newspaper stories, framed the issue as a political story. An example is the coverage of *Magee's Independent*, a weekly newspaper in Albuquerque, New Mexico, that carried a good deal of political commentary. Early stories on the Bursum bill in November, 1922, focus almost exclusively on its being recalled after being passed by the Senate. Its provisions are mentioned mainly in the context of New Mexico politics; the efforts of the New Mexico artists and writers to help the Pueblos are mentioned only at the end of one article.[49] While the commentary in a later story makes clear the writer's sympathy with the Pueblos' cause, the emotional language and strong imagery is reserved for Sen. Bursum and the bill itself, which was described as "one of the worst pieces of legislation ever attempted in congress." The article continues:

> The fact is that the New Mexico bunch were caught stealing jam and had it smeared all over their faces....When Senator Bursum faces the people of this state for re-election next year he will be forced to defend his conduct in this matter. He can never do it successfully.[50]

While the reformers who were seeking to defeat the bill usually framed their stories in emotional, human terms, (see next section) the stories containing Sen. Bursum's and Interior Secretary Fall's defense were usually framed as political stories. For example, a story in which Fall defended the bill was framed in political terms of Fall denouncing the reformers' stories as "propaganda" and saying their motives were aimed at eliminating the federal Indian bureau.[51] Thus the matter was framed as a bureaucratic squabble, a story of political infighting. These stories did not evoke Indian imagery of any sort. Indeed, the Pueblos might as well have been wheat growers or railroad workers. A short interpretative piece in the Sunday New York *Times* cited Fall and Bursum's arguments that the bill would settle an unclear situation of land titles. While not refuting in detail the reformers' charges that the measure would destroy the Indians, the article states in restrained language that "in the opinion of some government officials the picture that has been presented to the public is...one-sided to a degree that approaches unfairness."[52]

Save the Pueblos. Here vivid description and emotional appeals to Good Indian imagery framed the story in human, emotional terms as a David-and-Goliath contest of a small group of Indians fighting against extermination at the hands of powerful government forces. Many of these articles, often in magazines or newspaper feature sections, were written by the reformers themselves as part of their publicity campaign to arouse opposition to the Bursum bill.[53] Though often compelling, they presented a one-sided picture of the controversy and often of the Indians themselves, as a writer in *The Outlook* noted:

> It is not necessary to be sentimental about these people in order to see that justice be done for them. There is some danger lest those who plead on their behalf should injure these Indians' cause by representing them as idyllic people, superior in every way to whites, and victims solely of the white man's greed. As a matter of fact, probably as much harm has been done to the Indians generally by doing too much for them as by doing too little. What is demanded in this case

is not, however, generosity or sentimentality, but a simple square deal.[54]

Human Interest. The final way stories were framed was as human interest features. These were often daily newspaper stories that focused on the dress and activities of the Pueblos, particularly when a delegation went to Washington, via Chicago and New York, to build opposition to the Bursum bill. Typically, these stories were framed as descriptions of the odd and unusual, as when the New York *Times* asked the visiting Pueblos their impressions of the city.[55] The stories emphasized colorful, if sometimes inaccurate, descriptions of the Indians' clothes, but paid little attention to cultural nuances that would have made clearer cultural sense of the Indians' "regalia."

One element that was largely left out of all the stories was one telling the story from the white settlers point of view. No stories quoted settlers directly or described their concerns. No national magazine or newspaper feature articles described in detail the white settlers who were the other parties to the controversy.

CONCLUSIONS. The Pueblos undoubtedly benefited from the publicity campaign waged on their behalf by the white reformers who championed their cause. The Bursum bill, potentially destructive to their communities and culture, was stopped.

However, examination of the imagery of Indians presented in the articles about the Bursum bill controversy shows that the Pueblos' portrayal in the press largely conformed to the prevailing imagery of Indians, portraying them as quintessential Good Indians.

The picture thus presented was far from realistic or balanced. The complimentary descriptions of Pueblo lifestyles often idealized them unrealistically. The colorful stories emphasizing their exotic dress depicted them as cartoon-like characters. Both types of portrayals worked to obscure the complexities of their lives and cultures. Though several stories argued for cultural pluralism--at least for Pueblo culture--in moving terms, these were frequently written from an ethnocentric white viewpoint that mixed moral judgments with description. The discussion of cultural pluralism as a philosophy in opposition to forced assimilation frequently depicted the Pueblos as latter-day versions of the romanticized Noble Savage who held the secrets of a simpler civilization, superior to the individualistic and materialistic civilization of whites. In short, the articles adapted the established Indian imagery to the ideology of cultural pluralism.

Press coverage of the Bursum bill controversy by some of the nation's premier newspapers and magazines did not, for the most part, measure up to the press' stated aspirations to factuality, fairness and independence. Prestigious publications such as the New York *Times* and *The New Republic* became virtually uncritical mouthpieces for the white reformers such as John Collier. There was little evidence found of critical, independent reporting that examined all sides of the issue, including the viewpoints of the white settlers. When stories were put in a political frame, they emphasized the dynamics of political power and process rather than those it served or victimized. Articles framed as human interest stories played up unusual or colorful details without putting them into cultural context.

While the publicity campaign of the reformers succeeded in stopping the Bursum bill and publicly articulated the philosophy of cultural pluralism, the imagery employed and the framing of the stories worked against presenting a nuanced and complete explication of the situation of the Pueblos.

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[1] Though the term was used earlier, one of its most compelling evocations came from photographer Edward S. Curtis who gave the title "The Vanishing Race" to a photo of Navajo Indians which he used as the first plate in the supplementary series to his collection *The North American Indian* (1907). He explained, "The thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future." See Florence Curtis Graybill and Victor Boesen, *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race*, New York: American Legacy Press, 1976, p. 18.

[2] John Collier, *From Every Zenith* (Denver: Sage Books, 1963), 131.

[3] See Lawrence C. Kelly, "United States Indian Policies, 1900-1980," in William C. Sturtevant, general editor; Wilcomb E. Washburn, volume editor, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 4: History of Indian-White Relations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), pp. 66-80 for an overview.

[4] Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform: 1920-1954* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977), xi.

[5] Philp, 28-30.

[6] Philp, 32.

[7] Philp, 34.

[8] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), pp. 274-279.

[9] Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 220-221.

[10] Harvey Fergusson in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, quoted in "The Pueblos' Plea for Justice," *The Literary Digest*, Feb. 17, 1923, p. 17.

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[11] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "White Conceptions of Indians," in William C. Sturtevant, general editor; Wilcomb E. Washburn, volume editor, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 4: History of Indian-White Relations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), pp. 522-547.

[12] A discussion of 19th century newspaper portrayals of Indians is John M. Coward, "The Newspaper Indian: Native Americans and the Press in the 19th Century," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1989. For an overview of news media coverage of American Indians see James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 3-15.

[13] Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation*, pp. 213-254; Philp, 32-35, 42.

[14] For a comprehensive treatment of images of American Indians and the history of the idea of the Indian see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 28..

[17] *Ibid.*.

[18] Jan. 4, 1923, p. 18.

[19] New York *Times*, Jan. 21, 1923, Sec. VIII, p. 4.

[20] Charles A. Selden, "Women Saved the Pueblos," *The Ladies' Home Journal*, July, 1923.

[21] Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Big Powwow of Pueblos," *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 26, 1922, Sec. IV, p. 6

[22] Selden, *op. cit.* p. 128.

[23] "Are the Pueblo Indians to be Robbed of their Heritage?" *Current Opinion*, February, 1923, pp. 213-214. See also Alice Corbin Henderson, "The Death of the Pueblos," *The New Republic*, Nov. 29, 1922, pp. 11-13.

[24] Quoted in "The Pueblos' Plea for Justice," *The Literary Digest*, Feb. 17, 1923, p. 17.

[25] Jan. 17, 1923, p. 17.

[26] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, p. xv.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

[28] Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Big Powwow of Pueblos," Nov. 26, 1922, IV, p. 6.

[29] Jan. 15, 1923, p. 28.

[30] "A Square Deal for the Pueblos," *The Outlook*, Feb. 7, 1923, p. 249.

[31] Chicago *Tribune*, Jan. 13, 1923, p. 13.

[32] Chicago *Daily News*, Jan. 12, 1923, p. 3.

[33] New York *Times*, Jan. 11, 1923, p. 35.

[34] Quoted in "The Pueblos' Plea for Justice, *The Literary Digest*, Feb. 17, 1923, p. 17.

[35] "The Last First Americans," *The Nation*, Nov. 29, 1922, p. 570.

[36] New York *Times*, Jan. 25, 1923, p. 16.

[37] Sergeant, "Big Powwow of Pueblos," op. cit.

[38] Chicago *Daily News*, op. cit.

[39] James A. Maxwell, ed., *America's Fascinating Indian Heritage* (Pleasantville, N.Y.: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1978), pp. 397, 130-131.

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[40] Philip Kopper, *The Smithsonian Book of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1986), pp. 245, 260.

[41] Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "The Principales Speak," *The New Republic,* Feb. 7, 1923, pp. 273-275.

[42] Witter Bynner, "New Mexico Aflame Against Two Bills: II 'From Him That Hath Not,'" *The Outlook,* Jan. 17, 1923, pp. 124-127.

[43] D.H. Lawrence, "Certain Americans and an Englishman," *New York Times Magazine,* Dec. 24, 1922, Sec. IV, p. 3.

[44] Charles A. Selden, "Women Saved the Pueblos," *The Ladies' Home Journal,* July, 1923, pp. 19, 128.

[45] Marion Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950.* (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), pp. 76-105. For contemporary views of the function and ethics of the press see, among others, Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Newspaper Writing and Editing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913, 1923), pp. 331-359, and Nelson A. Crawford, *The Ethics of Journalism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924).

[46] Linda Steiner, *Construction of Gender in Newsreporting Textbooks, 1890-1990* (Journalism Monographs, No. 135, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, Columbia, S.C., October, 1992) p. 3, note 13.

[47] Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 7.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[49] *Magee's Independent,* Nov. 23, 1922, pp. 1, 2,8; Nov. 30, 1922, p. 1,

[50] *Ibid.*, March 9, 1923, p. 1.

[51] New York *Times,* Jan. 26, 1923, p. 9; see also New York *Times,* Feb. 16, 1923, p. 4.

[52] New York *Times,* Jan.28, 1923, Sec. VII, p. 12.

[53] See, for example, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Big Powwow of Pueblos," *New York Times Magazine,* Nov. 26, 1922, Sec. IV, p. 6; Alice Corbin Henderson, "The Death of the Pueblos," *The New Republic,* Nov. 29, 1922, pp. 11-13; Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "The Principales Speak," *The New Republic,* Feb. 7, 1923, pp. 273-275; Witter Bynner, "New Mexico Aflame Against Two Bills: II 'From Him That Hath Not,'" *The Outlook,* Jan. 17, 1923, pp. 124-127; D.H. Lawrence, "Certain Americans and an Englishman," *New York Times Magazine,* Dec. 24, 1922, Sec. IV, p. 3.

[54] "A Square Deal for the Pueblos," *The Outlook,* Feb. 7, 1923, p. 249.

[55] New York *Times,* Jan. 15, 1923, p. 28.

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